MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

26th to 30th September, *21st to 26th*, *29th and 30th November* 1955 *and 30th and 31st January* 1956.

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[*Note.*—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—ACT ASSENTED TO BY THE PRESIDENT.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have to announce to the House that the Madras Cultivating Tenants Protection Bill, 1955 (L.A. Bill No. 11 of 1955), which was passed by the Madras Legislature on the 26th August 1955, received the assent of the President on the 24th September 1955 and has been published as Act No. XXV of 1955 in Part IV-B of the *Fort St. George Gazette* (Extraordinary), dated the 27th September 1955.

III.—QUESTIONNAIRE ISSUED BY THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION (GOVERNMENT OF INDIA).

* THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM : Sir, I move—

"That the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission (Government of India) be taken into consideration."

As hon. Members are aware the Official Language Commission that has been constituted to make certain recommendations to the President has issued a questionnaire and that has been circulated to various individuals, institutions, and also to all State Governments. Hon. Members also will remember that the Hon. Leader of the Opposition while speaking on the question of official language during the last meeting of this Council suggested that Government might give an opportunity to this House to express its views on this question before Government finalized their replies to the questionnaire. I now move this motion in accordance with the assurance I gave on that occasion, viz., that the House would be given an opportunity to express its views on this questionnaire. The questionnaire has been circulated to hon. Members of this House. It covers various heads under which we have to discuss the issue. There is the question of public services relating to the Centre and services relating to the State. There is the question of medium in the matter of tests that are to be prescribed in the matter of selecting candidates for any particular service whether it relates to the State or whether it relates to the Centre. There is the question whether English should continue to be the medium or whether the regional language should be the medium or whether Hindi should be made the medium, or whether option should be given to the candidate to choose either English, Hindi or regional language as the medium. The medium for purposes of selecting candidates for Central services is one thing and the question of medium for recruitment to services under the State is another thing. But even in the matter of selecting candidates for services under the Centre, people in this State are interested and we have to examine how it should be done so that people in this State might not be in any disadvantageous position on account of certain decisions that are taken with reference to language.

Then, Sir, there is the question of language that has to be used in the legislature. There is the Parliament in the Centre and there is the State Legislature. I do not think that there can be any difference of opinion that it is the regional language that 3-20 p.m.

should be the language of the State Legislature. But in the case of the Parliament the question arises whether there should be only one language that should be recognized as the language through which one could express his views or whether there should be option. Of course, option is there even now to-day. Of course, Hindi has been recognized as the official language for the purpose of the Union administration. But as I explained last time, all the fourteen languages that have been scheduled in the Constitution should be recognized as the National languages. Official language for the purpose of State administration or for Central administration is one thing and the National language of this country is quite a different thing. Therefore, the question arises what is the language through which the proceedings must be conducted in the State Legislature: What is the language or what are the languages through which the proceedings of the Central Legislature are to be conducted. Then there is the question of language for the purpose of Courts. Then again there is the most important question of language relating to education. What is to be the medium of instruction? So far as the High Schools are concerned, it has been accepted that it is the regional language that should be the medium of instruction and Government have been considering and the Universities have been considering what should be the medium of instruction in the higher collegiate courses. Then again, Sir, there is the question: what is to be the future of the English language, an international language. Then again, for purposes of State requirements whether in the matter of administration or education, what should be the place that should be assigned to Hindi which is the official language of India is another question. Then again, there is the question of numerals, whether to have the Devanagari characters or whether it should continue in the international Roman character.

Thus, there are these and various other questions. The questionnaire covers all these various subjects that have to be examined and I am making this motion in order that hon. Members of this House could express their views and guide the Government in the matter of the stand that this Government should take. I may tell the House that the Government have not yet finalized their replies to the Questionnaire. Whenever the Government come forward with any motion before the House, Government take a stand and then come forward to seek the support of the House. But this time it is the other way about. Just as I have given the assurance to the Hon. Leader of the Opposition, we want to know the views of the hon. Members of this House, the collective views of this House. We would then take that into account and formulate the views of the Government regarding the various points raised in the Questionnaire. I do propose to forward the proceedings of this House during this discussion as an Appendix to the answers that we would be submitting to the Official Language Commission.

With these few words, Sir, I do hope that the Government will be considerably enlightened by this discussion which is now being initiated.

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SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN : Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, namely,—

Add the following at the end :—

and, on such consideration, this Council resolves to request the Government of Madras, in framing their replies to the Questionnaire to incorporate the following principles and suggestions in their reply :—

(1) That, for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspondence between the Central Government or any other State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned, the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required after their selection to such services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagiri form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical,

technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and Higher education, even after the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction."

Sir, the idea of the amendment with all its sub-clauses is this: Instead of having a general discussion, it would be very reasonable if we could focus our attention on four or five major issues so that Members could express their views on them. It is only with that idea I have moved this amendment.

At the outset, I do feel that the question of languages for the Province or the State is not such an easy thing as could be decided overnight. I know it is a matter which does not involve all the matured experience of politicians alone. We require the experience of the politicians, the administrators, the educationists and all others who could help us. I am also alive to the fact that the problem is not an easy one, particularly in our country with so many regional languages, recognized and unrecognized. Therefore, Sir, it should be the effort and endeavour of everyone of us to see what best we can contribute so that the problem may be solved satisfactorily.

Another thing is this. It is only on this decision the very future and progress of this country depend. Because language surely plays a very important part in all aspects of our national life. Therefore, we are thankful that an opportunity has been afforded to the Members of this House so that they may have their say in the matter. It was very kind of the Hon. Minister to have said that the proceedings of this House on this discussion would be sent to the Central Government and the Commission so that they may know the views of the Members of this House.

Sir, my amendment is self-explanatory and it does not require a good deal of explanation. I will take number (1), which says that for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose. The issue is very simple. So far as the present position of Madras State is concerned, the administration of the State should be carried on in the regional language or languages and I have used the words 'language or languages' purposely, so that my hon. Friend Sri Govinda Menon may not simply jump and say, "Why do you say regional language and why do you use one language only." I have therefore put 'languages' also considering the present circumstances of the State. Therefore, I thought that it would be in the fitness of things if I used the expression 'regional language or languages'.

I cannot for a moment imagine that the conditions being what they are now in this State, that the people, at least the coming generation, will like to have the English language. We are

speaking English because of the circumstances, and because of our training, we are forced to talk in the English language. This cannot be maintained for long. The time is not far off when every State will have to carry on its administration and discussion in its own language or languages. Of course, the question of shift may take some time. Things cannot be shifted overnight. I would urge my hon. Friend on my left to have patience. Things will take their own course. For, everybody is agreed on that issue. Therefore, I must say that too much enthusiasm alone will not get things nearer. Everybody is anxious to do away with English. I know even people who had been swearing by English are now ashamed to speak in English. Circumstances have forced them. Therefore, in the Madras State we cannot have English in preference to the regional languages which include Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese. Therefore, I am sure that there cannot be any two opinions on that. The issue is very simple.

Surely, our people cannot learn Hindi for at least two or three decades and gain so much proficiency as to run our administration in that language. Therefore, the only logical course is to have the administration in our own regional languages and I am sure that no one will have any difference of opinion on that matter.

The second question is about the medium of correspondence between the State Government and the Central Government and between the various State Governments. What would happen if our State Government were to send some correspondence to the Central Government in Tamil? Suppose, for the sake of argument the Hon. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, who is very good at Tamil, writes a memorandum in Tamil because he feels he would be able to express his views much better, quite clearly and quite effectively in Tamil rather than in any other language. What is to happen to that? It is a very easy process. Anyone who is conversant with the international arrangements knows that there are very good translators and interpreters who can translate and interpret well. During the war time, even very important conference on which depended the very existence of the World held at Moscow or Potsdam were held with the help of very efficient translators and interpreters. (Sri K. Balasubramanya Ayyar: What about confidential matters?) I may bring to the notice of the hon. Member that the interpreters and translators who were employed in these international conferences maintained complete secrecy and complete confidence in all these matters and this will be clear if anybody goes through the five volumes of Mr. Churchill. There can be no trouble about that. The State Government will have to give some assistance to the Central Government and so also the Central Government. 3-30 p.m.

The next point is that so far as the Union Public Service Commission examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would

be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country. On this point, the amendment given notice of by me is self-explanatory. If you were to ask a candidate coming from Madras to write his examination or test in a language which is not known to him, I am sure he will not get anything more than zero. Therefore, it is necessary to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking particular language or languages as laid down in the Constitution. There won't be any difficulty here also.

So far as Court languages are concerned, the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State. We are concerned not only with the Legislature but with the courts also. I do not know what is the practice that obtains in the mufassal courts, but so far as the City of Madras is concerned, all the proceedings are in English. When we say that English will no longer have the place that it is occupying to-day and once we take up a stand that the regional language or languages will be used for all official purposes, we cannot tell the courts or direct the courts to have their proceedings in the English language. At some time or other, if not earlier, we will be forced to have all the proceedings of courts in the regional language. I know it will take some time for translating rulings and decisions, but where there is a will, there is a way. It can be done. I know it will be very difficult for the Deputy Leader of the Opposition to argue in Tamil in five or ten years, but it cannot be helped. What we are suggesting here is not intended only for us. It is for the people to take it up in due course. Therefore nobody can have any objection to this amendment, namely, that ultimately the regional language or languages should be used in courts. I am sure there won't be any difference of opinion on that matter.

The next point is that all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required after their selection to such services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi speaking area. This is the very important part of my amendment. Suppose boys from our Madras State are asked to learn Hindi. I am expressing my own views in the matter. There is nothing wrong and it is very good for our boys from the South to learn Hindi and it will give them an opportunity to come into contact with people in other areas where Hindi is spoken. I am sure Madras is very famous and having picked up and developed English in such a way that no other State has done. I am sure that with the intelligence we people in the South possess, surely we can beat others in the filed of Hindi if we attempt to learn it. So when our boys are also asked to learn Hindi, which no doubt they will learn, it stands to reason that others in the non-Hindi speaking areas should also try to learn one of the languages other than Hindi.

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After all, it cannot be the desire of the framers of the Constitution that Hindi and Hindi alone should be encouraged and not all the other languages. The Hon. the Minister for Education has said that the 14 languages laid down in the Constitution are national languages and to-day the Hon. the Leader of the House has also given expression to that. If it is the proper interpretation taken by the Centre, I am sure it goes to help to a great extent. As matters stand at present, there is no particular language which may be called the national language, but there are 14 national languages. If you consider it from that point of view, it stands to reason that those who know Hindi should learn one of the remaining 13 languages.

So far as numerals are concerned, there is no necessity for using the Devanagari form in addition to the international form. I am sure hon. Members of this House may be well aware of the good deal of controversy which took place at the time when this proposal was mooted. Opinion was perfectly divided. If you take into consideration all these things, I do not see any reason why we should disturb the present international form of numerals which we are using. As I feel and I hope hon. Members will also agree that using the Devanagiri form is not going to improve matters. On the other hand, it will be a retrograde step.

So far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother tongue is the natural medium to be employed through progressive stages should be borne in mind if English is to be replaced by the mother tongue and I leave that matter to better heads who can speak with better authority than I could claim. In fact, after the conference convened by the Hon. the Education Minister, the opinion is definitely in favour of having the regional language as the medium of instruction in all stages and the question is only about accelerating its pace. No Government would like to hustle things, which would be to the disadvantage of the boys and girls of our State. Therefore, I leave it to them. I know that here also there is great difficulty. It may be easy for the Government or the University to adopt the regional language as the medium of instruction so far as subjects in humanities are concerned, but so far as science subjects are concerned, it will take some time. I am sure the Government will be very careful in the matter because they should be satisfied that they have got the requisite material, the requisite personnel to teach and also the requisite text-books. I have said on a previous occasion and the Hon. the Minister for Education can also verify as to what happened in the Osmania University. They adopted Urudu as the medium of instruction and they spent crores of rupees in translating the books. They have not made any progress. Therefore, the Government and the University authorities must carefully examine the matter before effecting the change and I am sure they will give their best attention to this matter.

So far as the State Legislature is concerned, the regional language or languages can be used. The trouble arises only in respect of the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha because it has been said a number of times that when speeches are made in Hindi most of the Members from Tamil Nad or from the South are not able to understand the proceedings of the House. I know this is a different problem. If Members are speaking there in Hindi because they cannot express themselves in any other language, nobody could help that. But if a Member knows English very well which is understood by the majority of the Members and if he persists in talking in Hindi, then it is not understandable. The hon. Member Sri Narasapaya says that it is happening here also. There may be casual cases here and there but generally both the Members of this House as well as the other House speak only in English. What will be the use of a discussion here when the talk is intended for a few? We want that all the Members of the House should understand what we speak. Therefore, when hon. Members speak in Hindi only, such of those Members as do not know Hindi, will be at a disadvantage.

3-40 p.m. They will perpetually be at a disadvantage. I think it is not fairplay. How is this problem to be solved? Sir, I do not know whether the Hon. Minister Sri C. Subramaniam was a Member of the Constituent Assembly. I think it was our present President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Mr. Kakkan, who made the first Tamil speech in the Constituent Assembly. Many started putting questions to him or cutting jokes at him. But I should say that his speaking in Tamil should be admired. A person whose mother tongue is Tamil, and who was accustomed only to Tamil in the State Legislature, would speak only in Tamil. He was a Member of this Assembly before. Here he spoke only in Tamil. Naturally it stands to reason that Members coming from Malabar may speak in Malayalam as they do not know English. Similar is the case in regard to Andhra and Tamil Nad. Most of these legislators are in the evening of their lives. To make them learn Hindi at this stage will be very difficult. Even if they learn, they cannot become so very proficient as to make speeches. Even if they should make speeches, they should be understood by others. Therefore, the problem is a very difficult one. What is obtaining in all the international assemblies where representatives from different nations come and make speeches in their own languages? Even when our Prime Minister was in Russia, he made it a point to speak only in Hindi. If Russians hear his speech in English or Hindi, it makes no difference to them as long as they are ignorant of both the languages. His Hindi speech was translated into Russian language. The Leader of the Opposition and others who are conversant with international conferences will surely deal with this problem. We must have the correct expressions in Tamil of all the scientific instruments, etc. My amendment is quite clear. As long as Members happen to be in Parliament representing different areas and different States, surely they are within their rights to speak in their own language, and facilities should

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be given to them to speak in their own language, and also to understand others. Let not Hindi alone be made the main language. Any Member with any sense of self-respect will surely object when speeches are deliberately made in one language. That is why we find that a good deal of dissatisfaction has been expressed by Members of Parliament representing the Madras State. I am sure there would not be any trouble for the House to accept that part of my amendment which says—

"That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

I am sure all of us, who have had our training in English in schools and colleges, think of everything only in English. Our whole conception of things is in English. It may be due to circumstances. Anyhow we are not the losers by learning an international language. We must have a vast field open to us for learning; otherwise we will be denied the opportunities of knowing things. It will be very good for our State—I do not know about other States—if our students learn in English, particularly subjects on science, medicine, etc. By this we will be richer. English is an international language. I am sure that the Government and the University authorities will retain the English language.

I shall say one or two points more. There is a controversy in the North itself about this Hindi of which hon. Members may not probably be aware. If I just speak the Hindi which Pandit Nehru and others speak, and that language is to be styled the Hindi language, I must say, 'Well and good'. People will surely accept it. There is also an attempt to replace the Hindi spoken by the man in the street and to force a language that is not understood by many people in the North itself. Hon. Members might have seen that there is a very great controversy that a new Hindi language is sought to be introduced and forced on the North also. Even people in the North are very much dissatisfied with the way in which these things are taking place. If we take the standard of the language of our Prime Minister as the language that we call in common parlance the Hindi language, then I am sure nobody will have a grudge.

I have taken fifteen minutes of this House. This is a very difficult question. This affects the welfare of this State and our Union. The welfare of our Indian Union depends on the steps

that we are taking now. It does not matter if we take time to decide the question. But we must consider this question dispassionately and free from political bias. After all what we are now doing is not only for people like us. It is for the coming generation—for our children and their children. On our decision will depend the future progress of our country. The language question is not an easy question, particularly in a country like ours where there are so many languages apart from the recognized languages. I am sure the whole question will be fully considered before any decision is arrived at.

* SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: I am seconding the amendment, Sir.

AN HON. MEMBER: Speak in Tamil.

* SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: This subject requires my speaking in English, because my views should be heard by the authorities. Therefore I have come forward to speak in English.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: Hindi can be more easily understood by them.

* SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: Let me first congratulate the Hon. the Leader of the House on giving the assurance that the views of the Members of this House will be forwarded to the concerned authorities, so that they may take a right decision in the matter. I am rather greatly elated to find that this amendment is moved by my hon. Friend, Sri Raza Khan, who was all along against me when I moved in 1954 the Bill to make Tamil the official language of the Madras State.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: That shows his opposition is reasonable.

* SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: Let me state even at this stage the constitutional position, and how this subject of language has to be understood. Our Indian Union is made up of States, and fourteen languages are set out in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution. I want to emphasize that the States also have got a Constitution. They have got their own State Legislatures, State Languages, and State Services. Still the Constitution had been so framed as to bind them all into one unit. With due sense of responsibility, I make my submissions so that the Union Authorities may understand the real difficulties in the case. Now in view of the re-organization of the States in the Union, so many States will come into existence and mostly on regional language basis. We must note at the outset that we are all here in the Legislature by the sufferance of the voters—the adult persons outside. We are here representing them. Is their voice heard here? Naturally, Sir, the language in which they speak must be the language in the legislature. Then, Sir, a person does not confine himself to the legislatures alone. He is to have

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his education, to have his liberties safeguarded by courts, to have services rendered, etc., to him. Therefore, if a man has to develop his personality fully, if he has to make himself felt at all levels, then, Sir, the language that he speaks outside must be the language outside the Council. It must be the language also of the courts. It must also be the language in the colleges. If a man does not speak his language (his mother-tongue) and foster it, how could he grow? What should be his real status? This aspect, Sir, must be prominently kept in mind. If we take into consideration all the relevant provisions of our Constitution, we will find that the regional language should be the language governing every State.

Let me first take the language of the Legislatures. The Indian Constitution has made Hindi in Devanagari script, the official language of the Union. Sir, there are fourteen languages set out in the English Schedule. While that is so, it is surprising to hear some people cry out that Hindi is the National language. I ask, Sir, are not other languages equally national languages. Every language that is mentioned in the Schedule must rightly be called the national language and we will never concede that Hindi alone is the national language. 3-50 p.m.

Then, Sir, the Constitution, which has made Hindi as the official language of the Union, has left it to the State Legislatures to adopt by law the regional language as the language for all the official purposes of the State. Now, five years have elapsed. I say, Sir, that unless the regional language is made the official language of the State, nothing can be done. I had the privilege of introducing the Madras State Language Bill, 1945, in this House. Well, I brought it in not because I wanted to take upon myself the duty of the Government, but simply to remind them that the matter cannot be put off. In that connection I will have to say that not only myself but about 10 Members of this Council and about 35 Members of the Assembly came forward with such a Bill. I must here acknowledge the invaluable help which at least two persons gave me. One of them is my esteemed friend Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. At every stage, I was consulting him and I particularly thank him because he got me a non-official day for infroducing the Bill in the Council. I must express my grateful thanks to him for his noble help. Now, I ask, Sir, " Why there should be delay in proceeding with this Bill, that is, to make ' Tamil ' the official language of this State ".

Sir, Article 348 of the Constitution says that until Parliament by law otherwise provide, all orders, Bills and Acts and all proceedings in every High Court shall be in English language. I understand it to be the correct position, as English has been authorized for use for the present. But sub-clause (2) of that Article says ' Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (*a*) of clause (1), the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State may, with the

previous consent of the President, authorize the use of the Hindi language or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court having its principal seat in that State.' There are therefore Sir, two parts (1) the proceedings of the High Court and (2) the judgment, orders and decrees. It is only in case the regional language has been made the official language of the State, Sir, it can be used in the proceedings in the High Court. Are we not therefore in justice bound to proceed at once to make our regional language in Tamil the State language?

Then, Sir, if the regional language is made the official language of the State, all our troubles will cease. No question would arise as to the medium of instruction in our colleges? If regional language is the language of the Legislature, Sir, it follows that the same language shall be the language for purposes of instruction in colleges and for all higher education. Because, it is only the persons who are educated in our schools and colleges who can take their proper place in this Council. Then, Sir, if it is the same language that is spoken in the Legislature as well as in the colleges, it necessarily follows that the same language should be adopted in the High Court also.

But then, they may ask " What will be the common language in the Lok Sabha? " I say, Sir, the question of common language is inadmissible. There is no common language at all, Sir, in the Indian Union. Hindi has been declared as the official language. If each regional language becomes the language of the State, it follows, Sir, all such languages shall be the language to be spoken in the Lok Sabha also. What other conclusion can be drawn? If you think that a particular language is good enough for a State Legislature, will it not be good enough in the Lok Sabha also? Where is the need for a common language? Well, Sir, in Russia, there are so many languages and every man is permitted to speak his own language in the highest Council in the land. In that land, there, there is no one to adumbrate a common language, you call it a national language or official language.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: The hon. Member has said just now that Russians have different languages and they speak in different languages. May I know in what language does the Russian people speak in international bodies?

* SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: I do not know in what language or languages they speak outside. But in their highest Council there are so many representatives of language groups and they speak in their own languages. Why should we in our lok want a common language? We have a number of States in the unit entitled to equal status and of equal importance. I say, Sir, the idea of common language is a " historical anachronism ". When the Britishers came to India won by force or otherwise and ruled our country, they imposed their language—English

—in their administration. They merely said ' If you learn English, you will get jobs. Then, everybody wanted to learn English and that is how English came to stay in our land. Therefore, Sir, this English language is merely a historical vestige. There is no meaning in saying that English is a common language because the Britishers have used it for common administration or because English was found commonly spoken by all the self-seeking intelligentia. I tell you, Sir, that no common language is necessary. Please place all the State languages including Hindi on an equal footing. When I say this, I am not against Hindi being given its rightful place where Hindi is spoken. Why should you say that Hindi alone should be spoken in Lok Sabha? There are interpreters. They can be employed and they can translate those speeches made in Hindi and other languages in Lok Sabha for the benefit of all Members of the Lok Sabha, speaking the languages listed in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India. That is how it is done in the United Nations. There are interpreters who translate those speeches into Russian, Spanish, French, etc., for the benefit of the members of the United Nations. We are only a miniature United Nations. Our country is not a small country. It is a big continent, having a number of efficient and respected languages. Why should you not take the helpful system of interpreters? It is only in that spirit that communication between one State and the other and between the State and the Centre could go on. That is also the most logical thing to do. Therefore I submit, that the status of every individual in our Union should be preserved. If that supreme thing is granted, all other things become subsidiary. The Lok Sabha is there for the States. The States are not there for the Lok Sabha. Our Constitution may be unitary. That does not mean we are hide bound to the Union. Therefore I submit that in the matter of language, if we give up the status born out of our language, if we give up our voice, then we remain as dead persons. That is why I stress the importance of language. What is the difference between a man and an animal? The animal cannot speak whereas a man speaks. Therefore, if you say you are a Tamilian, Telugu or a Malayalee, then your voice must be heard everywhere. That is the rightful stand which I take and that stand cannot be assailed from any point of view. That is why I say, let the representatives of the people of all the States gathered in the Lok Sabha, speak their regional languages and let the system of translation by interpreters be employed, so that each Member could know what the other Member speaks. What is the danger in doing so? Who would like to get away from the Union? It would be impossible. I do not want fissiparous tendencies to grow. We are bound by all laws of the Cnion and the State. I must tell you that we have a common citizenship. We do not have a Malayalee or Tamilian citizenship. The question of language therefore, Sir, is most important and cannot be disregarded.

4 p.m.

[Sri A. Gajapathy Nayagar] [28th September 1955

With regard to English language, Sir, it has been associated with us for centuries. We took to the study of English to eke out our livelihood. If we occupy some status now, it is because of the English language, which we had learnt. We earned a name outside our Union because of that language. We owe a debt to it. Now it is mooted that English should be replaced and that by Hindi. Is it possible? I do not say that English should be retained as an authorised language as it is now done under the Constitution. If at all English should be replaced, it must be replaced by the regional languages. The boys in our State study the regional languages. They can learn Hindi and English as optional languages. Any one in the service of the State or Union should know an international language. What do I mean by international language? A language is international not because it is spoken by a large number of people but it is because of its characters, i.e., its alphabets which are international. It is international because of its Roman script. French and Italian are international languages because their script is international. If Hindi should be an insular language within the four corners of our Union, then it is not bound to have Roman characters. I do not suggest now that it should have the Roman script. But with the aid of Roman script we can learn Hindi and English. We can easily learn the two languages if we have that common Roman script.

With regard to numerals, there need not be any difficulty. We have got Arabic numerals. There are Roman terms for technical subjects which have been adopted in all languages. What is the use of translating them, Sir? It is a sheer waste of time and money. English language is important because it adopts Roman terms. Same is the case with French and Italian. That is why any book written in English could be translated overnight into French or Italian. The same is not the case with reference to Hindi and other regional languages. I find now there is an attempt to translate technical terms into Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. It is a wasteful effort. It cannot be done. Mr. Chairman Sir, you know that for one little finger there are 20 technical names in physiology. Will you be able to translate all those names into Hindi, Sir, or pure Tamil? It is impossible. For four years the Committee at the Centre has sat. They have translated only a few technical terms. Even if they were to sit for ten years more, they cannot finish their job. That is why I say if we have the Roman characters, namely, A, B, C, D alphabets and Raman terms, we could do a great deal in the improvement of the study of Hindi.

As regards the study of English, the University should encourage its study by the students, because then only would they be in touch with the world. If you restrict their study to Hindi alone, and that in Devanagari script then we would be segregated from the world. I plead not for replacement of English but for study of

English in University. Thereby we would be serving the cause of English and our students would be able to be in touch with the world.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The motion and the amendment are before the House for discussion.

* SRI K. BHASHYAM : Sir, this question of language has raised some heat in the placid atmosphere of this Council also. The question of language, I admit, is an important one. It has to be viewed from many points of view. It has to be viewed from the political point of view, from the point of view of literature and the culture of our country. It may be viewed from the practical and utilitarian point of view. Language is there for making oneself understood by the other. Language is not there to conceal your thoughts. If Tamil is not known elsewhere and is not understood in other parts of the country. I mean in North India, it is because we have not cared to popularise that language. Tamil has not opened itself up. If there is to be a revival of Tamil, it is only confined to the Tamil country and it is not proceeded further than that.

SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR : I did not speak for Tamil alone. What applies to Tamil applies equally to other languages as well.

SRI K. BHASHYAM : What I am complaining is this. If something has been said in Bengali, I may not really understand. If something is spoken in Punjabi, others cannot understand. For, Punjabi is the language of the Punjab alone. Therefore, if there is no common language, there would be no communication between people of one part and the people of the other part of the country. Now, let us see how the Englishmen did it and how the people came to learn English. The English people conquered the country. People there were all over the country speaking different languages; persons could not understand each other, because the language divided them. There was already rivalry among the languages. And all this contributed to the division of India and not any other thing. 4-10 p.m.

Looked at from the political point of view, I should certainly think that a common language is absolutely necessary to cement India as a whole. Of course, I agree that it need not necessarily be one language. Certainly it may be more than one language. But there must be sufficient number of people in each State who could convey in and understand the language of the other States. It is not enough if we are confined to the Tamil language only and not be able to understand the thoughts of other parts of India when both come together—for all must come together. Therefore, in all these matters, it is not enough to look at it merely from the point of viwe of language and say " my language ", my little province ", etc. That is only short-sighted policy.

I should not be misunderstood. I am not against Tamil. I am a Tamilian. It is said as a matter of fact : " You are a Brahman;

you are partial to Sanskrit; therefore, your allegiance to Tamil is divided and therefore you are not a Tamilian ". What a ridiculous nonsense it is! I speak Tamil; my children speak Tamil; they get their education in Tamil. Still, to say that I am not a Tamilian is, to me, absurd and a stupid exaggeration. Well, it is a personal matter and I am not looking at the problem from that point of view. But looking at it from the political point of view, the question is this : Is it necessary or is it not necessary that a certain number of persons who are learned persons, who are educated, who can lead public opinion and who are leaders should be able to understand the other persons in other States? Above all there must be some common policy applicable to each of these States. It is necessary from a political point of view that there must be a public platform, a common platform for the purpose of bringing all the people of India into one big unified nation. Looking at the problem from that point of view, without at the same time neglecting the regional language and the mother-tongue, we should foster the growth of a common language. I am glad there is a renaissance and a revival of the Tamil language; a number of text-books have come out which really shows the greatness of Tamil. A number of magazines have come in Tamil and they command the widest popularity one can imagine. All Tamil-knowing people read them all over the State. Still, it is necessary we should not get into a narrow provincial spirit or be confined to a few Tamil districts only.

Of course, we have really come to the conclusion that teaching in both the primary and secondary schools should be through the mother-tongue or the regional language. But for the purpose of instilling in the minds of people some knowledge of some language which is really in use in other parts of the country if no attempt is made now, in later days, you will be handicapping our children in understanding the thoughts of others. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to learn Hindi. Well, let us see how English took its place. The English people were a very clever people; they did not insist upon learning by us of the English language. But slowly and steadily, they were instilling into our minds that English was necessary for the purpose of this country and for communicating with one another. For one thing, if the starting of the Congress Organization was possible in 1882, it was because there was in each Province persons who knew English and therefore, they could come together on a common platform.

As I said, Tamil is developing; in schools instruction is given in Tamil. But at the same time, I should certainly like that option must be given to those who want to learn Hindi as well. Every facility should be given to those that like to learn Hindi, so that they can become useful citizens of the whole country. I am not saying " compel them and make them sit for examinations " but certainly, I should like our students should learn Hindi as well. Because it will be useful later on in the affairs of the whole country. It is not enough always to confine ourselves to this language or that

28th September 1955] [Sri K. Bhashyam]

language. We must really go further ahead and find out some cementing factor which would bring the people of the country together. How should that be brought about? That cannot be brought about by the local language alone. As a matter of fact, how did English come to be very popular. It was because the Englishmen who ruled over us did not know the languages of the country. And persons there were who really wanted to please the Englishmen . . .

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR: Question.

* SRI K. BHASHYAM: It is questioned by a high authority. But I think I am right. I beg to differ from him. Those persons learnt the English language for the purpose of running the Government for the Britishers and that was done by a certain section of the people. They did not insist upon English and they did not introduce English here. In fact they employed persons who could translate their commercial correspondence; they employed "Dubashes"; even for Government matters they had persons called Sheristadars. But slowly and steadily things went on and English took the place of the regional language in all official correspondence. They did it that way. But our Central Government are going on saying that Hindi shall be the National language. That perhaps is difficult for some persons to swallow and also that has given rise to this difficult problem. If only the Central Government were very careful, very tactful and copied the example set by the English people, I should think they would have succeeded much better with Hindi, at least in adopting it as the official language of this country in the Centre. Therefore, so far as this is concerned and looked at from that of point of view, I think everybody would agree that Hindi is necessary. I agree that it may not be insisted on at the time of recruitment to services. But certainly we must agree that there must be a test, like the official technical test, for the purpose of qualifying for a certain post. Then Hindi must not be compulsory for passing an examination for entrance into service. It is reasonable and I agree with this. But what is necessary however is that if we really want our young men to enter the Union Services, they should be given opportunities to learn Hindi as early as possible. Therefore, if one is a good parent having the interests of one's children and grand-children at heart, it is his duty to put into those children some germ of Hindi language and make them pass some test in Hindi fairly early in life. That is why I plead that some sort of option may be given in the lower classes for the purpose of learning Hindi.

Apart from this question of literature, etc., there are the technical, scientific and other studies for which perhaps we will require certainly some language to express ourselves not only here but outside. How would we do that? How could we keep pace with the scientific advance in the country? Now we are able to do that because we are able to attend important conferences held here and elsewhere. I do not want to pit my experience against that of the

Hon. Leader of the Opposition. Still, I can say we have profited by those conferences because of a knowledge of the English language. We are attending International Conferences and Scientific
4-20 p.m. Conference because of knowledge of English. It cannot be said that it has no advantage. Certainly it has got advantages. In all foreign countries where English is fairly well-known, we can easily get translators for the purpose of translating the matter from English into the language of that country. So far as technical and scientific education is concerned, it has to be carried on in some language which is common to all. I do not say that it must be really in English. I want that if possible Hindi should replace English and take the same place which English is occupying now and Hindi must be prepared for that. All the necessary terms and phraseology must be found out for displacing the English language altogether. It can be reserved for a few people who are internationally minded and who are qualified in scientific and technical matters. They must know English. Instead of merely saying that Hindi should not be there at all or that it should be condemned outright, I want people to look at things from the practical point of view. Really I am looking at it from the point of view of our own children. We must consider their future prospects and we must make them good citizens of India. We must give due consideration to all these aspects from the utilitarian point of view.

So far as the language of the courts and the State Legislature is concerned, it is true that the proceedings of the Legislature should be conducted in the regional language so that it may be understood by a number of people. There can be no difficulty in respect of this matter. But I may not agree when you say that because we represent persons who speak Tamil we should also speak here in the Council in Tamil only. Still it is necessary that the regional language should be employed so far as the State Legislature is concerned. But to introduce it in courts will be somewhat difficult. I am not saying that it is not at all possible to do it. I have seen judgments written in Tamil some hundred years ago. In Pudukkottai judgments have been written in Tamil, with all the technical terms employed for that purpose. Therefore, it is not altogether impossible to displace English, but it will take some time to replace it by the regional language.

So far as collegiate education is concerned, the change-over from Tamil in the collegiate course, especially so far as the science subjects are concerned, is proving difficult. Considering all these matters, I say that a careful solution should be found. We should also carefully consider how Hindi can be introduced and how we can make it slowly and steadily the common language of our country, without prejudice to the development of the regional languages. I submit that in all these matters we should not take a partisan or narrow view of things, but certainly take a broad view, taking into consideration the national welfare and national solidarity of the country. We cannot rest content by merely

saying " My Tamil, my Tamil country " and so on. Already this question of language has roused the feelings of our people and I do not know how far it is going to affect the division of the States on a linguistic basis. The linguistic division of the country is already in the air and so much mischief has been done and further mischief will be done in the matter of carving out the boundaries between one State and another.

So far as the numerals are concerned, I entirely agree that the international form of numerals should be there.

To say that Tamil alone must be there for all purposes is no good. I only urge caution in this matter. I say that in the interests of the country and in the interests of our boys and girls, we must introduce Hindi slowly so that it can occupy the place of English. Even now it is not as if the whole country can speak English. Only a few persons can talk English and perhaps they are those who are working in the offices. If we go to the villages, very few people there can understand it. So the Government of the country cannot be carried on in English at the lower level. At the higher level it may be done. Still I should like everybody to take a sober and cautious view of things. Anything that we do or say should not do any harm to the solidarity of the country or should not stand in the way of bringing the people of the country into a united fold. This language controversy, whether English should be there or Hindi should be there, is itself very harmful. Even the Central Government have given the assurance that whatever their intentions might be, there will be no compulsion with regard to Hindi and that the regional languages will be allowed to develop of their own accord and that there won't be any interference. Of course, the Language Commission will hear all the views and they will be able to pronounce one way or the other. It is but right that we should express our views than perhaps anticipate what they are going to say. The Government want our views for the purpose of formulating their opinion and it is fairly well-known what the general views are. The Government should take the wisest view. I once again reiterate my view that we should go slow and cautiously and not hurry up things. I will urge a note of caution to both sides, that is, to persons who want that Hindi should be the common language and those who do not want Hindi at all and who say that the regional language should be employed for all purposes. If there is a certain amount of caution and understanding on both sides, it is possible to arrive at a *via media* conclusion which will be really helpful to all concerned.

* DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I should, first of all, like to express our thanks to the Hon. the Leader of the House for having given us the opportunity to express our views on a question that is certainly of fundamental importance to all people in this as well as in other States. I am glad that he has found it possible at an early stage and before formulating the conclusions of the Government to the Language Commission to consult the Legislature. I should like this question

to be approached from a purely practical point of view and with a sense of reality. Anybody who speaks one way or the other is accused of being a fanatic by one section or the other and, so far as I am concerned, I do not propose to be cowed down by any such criticism in my attempt to place facts as they are before my countrymen.

Sir, in this connection, a very important debate took place in the Lok Sabha only yesterday, the proceedings of which have partially appeared in the press of to-day. I am glad and thankful to the Hon. the Union Home Minister for the assurance that he has given and for the sympathy that he seems to have expressed on this subject. Going through his speech, Sir, I feel that there are some places where perhaps it is my misfortune not to understand him aright. He has stated that the terms of reference given by the Government will bear out the fact that they are certainly taking into consideration all questions pertaining to science, technology and the professional subjects and also taking due note
4-30 p.m. of the requirements of the non-Hindi speaking areas. But those particular references are not, if I may respectfully submit, references by the Government of India, but references in the Constitution that the Government were bound to provide to the Language Commission. Article 344 (2) says—

" (2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

' (*a*) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

(*b*) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

(*c*) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348;

(*d*) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;

(*e*) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use.' "

The Article goes further and says,

" (3) In making their recommendations under clause (2), the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services."

I only want to make it clear that the terms of reference are not terms issued by the Government of India but terms issued by the Constitution itself, and those terms have been put before the Commission exactly as they are, word for word, without any omission, and I am glad about it.

28th September 1955] [Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

Later, in his speech, I find, Sir, a statement made which I personally feel I have not been able to understand. It may be my fault. But the Hon. the Home Minister says in the course of his speech (and this is put in inverted commas in the report and I feel that it is probably the correct version) says,—

"The self-respect of the country demands a language, *which can be spoken everywhere in the country* and in other lands by Indian nationals and which can be said to be the language of India."

Sir, I am one of those who believe that self-respect is made up of other qualities than the mere knowledge of a language. Self-knowledge, self-esteem, self-reverence, all these lead to sovereign power. If I were to speak to the Leader of the House in a language which both of us know or even to my friend from Malabar in a language which is imperfect but which I still attempt to make known, I do not think any question of self-respect arises at all. It is statements like these that we find difficult to understand, and it is this sort of idea that gives room for a considerable amount of uneasiness on the part of those who unfortunately have not the blessing of having been born in a place the language of which happens to be the language of the administration in the Centre. That apart, many questions have been raised with regard to this language issue. My hon. friend Mr. Bhashyam, who has made a very conciliatory speech, has however suggested that the only thing that will bind us together and that would promote unity in this country is a common language. I do not know wherefrom he got this information. I have been in several parts of the country, and let me give him this information. Language is one of the last things to bring about unity in a country. Take the case of Switzerland. It celebrated six years ago its one hundredth year of freedom. To-day there are three languages which are recognized as State languages, all of which are incorporated in its constitution, and every document in this small country of Switzerland, with a population of only four and a half millions, is to be sent in all the three languages. Not only that. There are six Universities in Switzerland, and every university must necessarily have two languages. What is more surprising is that—the hon. Member can have this verified, as I have verified it—persons in Geneva, which is three hundred miles from Zurich, speak only French, while the persons in Zurich, which is just on the side of the German border, speak only German. In their legislature, people from Zurich cannot understand the people of Geneva when they speak in French, but they have the method of making it known by translations which are now simultaneously interpreted. The Hon. Deputy Chairman raised the question, "What about international assemblies and how do they conduct their proceedings?" I can tell you, Sir, as one who has attended many an international assembly that the question is very simple. In the United Nations you can have seven languages. What is more? If a person speaks in Hindi, he can have his own interpreter and

get it translated simultaneously so that if persons speak in Hindi some one who knows Hindi and English will immediately translate it in English. This actually happened once. When Maulana Azad spoke in Hindi in the UNESCO session at Paris, his speech was translated by Prof. Humayun Kabir and was simultaneously translated in the other languages. Next year in the month of November, if any gentlemen from here were to go to attend the annual session of the UNESCO, to be held at New Delhi, for which preparations are now afoot, they will find there that six languages are being interpreted, Hindi being included as one of the languages, because it is the convention in the UNESCO that wherever the session is held in a country, the official language of that country should also be included. You will find Hindi speakers and Hindi translators in that session. Some of the Members of the Central Legislature will have a very happy time of speaking in Hindi and others will have a happier time, because they will understand what they speak. That is the reason, Sir, why I submitted to the Speaker of the Assembly (when the whole State was a Composite State) my suggestion in 1952 that a system of simultaneous translation would easily solve the tension in the Legislatures. If only we had introduced that, I am almost certain that our friends from Andhra would not have broken off with that amount of tension as they did ultimately. Not only could this simultaneous translation be introduced, but by the very process of simultaneous translation one picks up a certain language and tries to imbibe what is contained in it. But I am not speaking on this aspect alone. In Canada there are people who speak French and there are people who speak English. Yet the Canadian self-respect is not wounded because it does not speak one language. I agree that when we go to any other part, we must necessarily speak in a language of our own. When officials and others have to go to other countries—ambassadors and others—they must speak in a language of their own. But more important than the language of their country is the language of the country in which they have to work. I have met many ambassadors in many embassies, and one of the things that I have felt sorry for was the fact that the ambassador was not able to speak the language of the country in which he was to carry on his ambassadorial duties.

There is another sentiment that is very often expressed. Unity can be promoted only if we speak one language. I wish Mr. Bhashyam and others review the many things that have happened since 1950 after our Constitution came into force and to ask themselves the question " Where were the differences more acute? Were they in the non-Hindi speaking areas of the South or were they in the Hindi speaking areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh? Where were strikes, shootings, and demonstrations? Where were all these things exhibited? " It is not a question of the language that promoted unity. In fact in our own student days, we used to consider it a jolly thing to abuse each other in a language that the other man did not know so that both of us laughed at our own jokes. I think we should discard all those which are not the

essential factors for a language. What is most necessary is to know exactly what is the way in which we can acquire knowledge, we can gain experience, and we will be useful members of the society. That is the point that has to be taken note of. I am not against any language being learnt—least of all Hindi being learnt as a subsidiary language by anybody. In fact, we have stated in our memorandum from the University that the University has encouraged at all stages of learning, Hindi being taken as a second language. But, when it is suggested that everybody from the school stage upwards should learn Hindi and that we should forget the regional language and the mother-tongue in which we have been brought up, I think it is time we entered our emphatic caveat against it. 4-40 p.m.

Much has been made about Public Services. Sir, those who have been under or have had the experience of the old foreign regime will remember (there I am sorry Mr. Bhashyam made a mistake) that every European who was recruited to the service had compulsorily to learn one of the languages of the State in which he had to work. (Interruption by Sri K. Bhashyam.) But I can tell you this that till the modern revolution with motor cars and buses came, the old Hailbury civilians used to spend many months in a particular village and I, as a young boy of eight years, when I was taken to the Collector of my district by my father, had talked in Telugu and the reply that I got was in Telugu. Those civilians knew the language and it is because of that they studied the language. They wrote commentaries in the language and they were in a position to give us much more information about our own language than we were able to. I would request my friend to visit the University and see for himself.

* SRI MAHOMED USMAN : I thoroughly agree with Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar. I know that unless they passed certain language tests or examinations, they did not get promotion as Sub-Collectors, etc. I entirely agree with my friend.

* DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR : I knew, Sir, that Members of the Indian Medical Service had to pass examinations and I know the examiners themselves. I know that they were in a position to speak the language of the region. What happened then during the last 20 or 30 years is the unfortunate rude exhibition of the worst methods of the foreign rule in our country. Let us not take that into consideration. Let us adopt better methods.

Mr. Bhashyam was speaking of the language in courts. I will show you the District Gazetteer, when not long ago, not hundred years ago, but in 1900, 1905 right up to 1910 the proceedings of the District Courts were conducted in the language of the district with European Judges and sometimes with Indian Judges. It is only when it came to the High Court that a different language was utilized.

[Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [28th September 1955

Now, Sir, there is another point to be taken into consideration. What is necessary is a gradual evolution which will necessarily make people feel that all are united and that the same purpose is being served. I find in the Constitution that for 15 years unless the President otherwise directs both English and Hindi should be used as official languages and yet, I get post cards with headings printed in Hindi only and money order forms printed in Hindi alone. I must submit that I felt quite an illiterate fool in the exhibition of these post cards and money orders. Yet, we are supposed to follow the Constitution. What has happened to the Constitution which has stated in clear term that both English and Hindi should be utilized? I will tell you what happened in Ireland. The Irish people fought tooth and nail against the British. They tried to discard the English language and therefore in their feeling of vendetta they wanted the Gaelic language first to be utilized. They rubbed off all the notice boards, as we rubbed off the notice boards of our Railways with fanatic zeal to rewrite them in Hindi and other languages. But they had the sense to put English language below that. Therefore, it would have been certainly much easier at least for the period of transition if the two languages specified in the Constitution had been utilized.

Sir, let me come to the question of the use of the English language. It seems to be the fashion to state that we must get rid of English and the more you speak of getting rid of English, the greater is the patriotism that is shown by you. Nobody is anxious that English should be a language that should be compulsorily learnt. On the other hand, people do realize that, at the present stage, English has to be a language that cannot be discarded by all. This ought to be learnt by some. Not because it is a language of the Englishmen but because it is a language that gave us knowledge and a certain amount of literature which is helpful for the various stages of higher learning that the people have got to take to. As Chairman of the Secondary Education Commission, we had a circular issued to various embassies to tell us what the position of English was in their respective countries. This was in 1953. With your permission, Sir, I will quote a few sentences :—

" In France, English is taught in all Secondary Schools from the beginning, i.e., from the age of 11 (as an average), but it is not compulsory ; a pupil may prefer to take German, Italian, Spanish, or any other language taught in that institution. In Japan, English is taught in the schools. It is compulsory in the Secondary School course and optional in High Schools or Universities. In the Federal Republic of Germany, where one language is taught besides German, it is English in general. In the Basic Schools, English is voluntary. Berlin and Hamburg make English obligatory for all pupils from their tenth year of life. In Egypt, both French and English languages are compulsorily taught in schools, French being studied more extensively than English. In the U.S.S.R., a foreign language is a compulsory subject in the Soviet middle and secondary schools. The main foreign languages

taught in schools are English, German, French, Italian or Spanish. In Iran, English is taught in the secondary schools and is optional. In Sweden, the first foreign language in the secondary school is English, this being taught from the First Form onwards. German is taught from the Third Form."

My point in referring to the position of English is that it is not a question of our being abundantly fond of English but we realize that for some time at any rate English must be retained. That language must be known by all who wish to take the higher standards of education in the Universities.

Now, Sir, a question has been asked "When English was compulsory, did they not study English at that stage? Why then is there a discussion about Hindi?". I would like to tell them that when English was taught compulsorily, the percentage of the literate population was only 10 to 11. Now under the Constitution, we have made provision for free and compulsory education obligatory on the part of the States till the age of 14. It is obvious that no language which is not the mother-tongue of the person can probably be well-utilized for purposes of general education and if it is to be utilized for purposes of general education, it will have to be done only in progressive stages. People talk so easily that Hindi can be used in schools and other places. I have been throughout India on more than one Commission. It is, in my opinion unfortunate, because I feel that there is a certain amount of prejudice growing that many of the teachers in the colleges in several parts of India are from the South—Malabar, Kanara and Madras. I have been in the Banaras University when suddenly under a previous Vice-Chancellor, there was a sort of atom-bomb proposal for the conversion of that University into a Hindi-speaking University. We went there for an Inter-University Board meeting and we had about a hundred people—students, post-graduates and teachers—coming and making representation to us as to what their future will be. Have we thought of the people who will give us this education, if Hindi is to be made the language at all stages of education? Have you analysed in the Hindi-speaking areas what is the proportion of competent personnel, available to teach in Hindi? Here and there a person may be available. But our experience as Members of the Secondary Education Commission has shown that most of the books that have been prescribed for secondary schools were very deficient in Hindi language. These are not points raised just to prevent the progress of the official language. Official language is for official purposes. Let it be utilized for official purposes. But to say that it should be the common language for all the 360 millions of our people by the ten-year period, is to forget realities and hug an illusion. I do feel that a gradual evolution is much better in the larger interest of the country than to have a sudden jump at the end of the 15-year period and make Hindi the common language then. I saw the Home Minister of the Government of India speaking about the beauties of the Hindi language and I fully recognize that it may

4-50 p.m

have its beauties. Had he been in South India, perhaps he would have spoken of the great beauties of other languages, of which he is not perhaps quite conversant. A friend of mine who was discussing this question asked me: "Supposing the Constitution makers at that time of great excitement, when people were devoid of opportunity of fair representation, by ebullitions of spirit, suppose by some perverse decision, the Constituent Assembly had suggested that Tamil or Malayalam should be the official language of the Centre, what would have been the reaction of those people in the other areas, viz., in the North?" I do not want to answer that question. Let it be realized that those of us who are for a go-slow policy, and not for a sudden jump for Hindi, are not renegades and should not be called as if we were traitors to the Nation. The Constitution has laid emphasis on Hindi. But the Constitution has also provided for other methods to be adopted if you find that it is not possible to implement this provision of the Constitution. It has provided the means for progressively enlarging the period within which you could implement it. If within the last three or four years, the Constitution could be amended on five different occasions, is there any reason to suppose that, if in the light of practical experience there are any difficulties and there is the realization of the necessity to enlarge this period, we cannot amend the Constitution? As a matter of fact even without an amendment, the Constitution has provided that you can continue the present system for more time beyond 1965. Therefore, my request is that Government should make known to the authorities concerned these difficulties, try to tell them that this is not a question of decision by the Centre alone but that this is a question affecting the future generation and that we, living in this part of the country, know better what the difficulties are and what the handicaps are. Let us not allow this to become a political issue. There is great danger in doing so. Let us not allow this to fall into the hands of the ignorant people who will try to create mob feelings in this matter. It is for this reason and with a due sense of their responsibility the University authorities took upon themselves the somewhat unpleasant task of giving a very factual, fact-finding and very undisguised appreciation of the whole situation as they conceived it. That memorandum has been approved by the highest academic authority of the University, viz., the Academic Council on which are represented 275 teachers, with only five persons who are elected by the Senate and who should not be teachers. This high academic body has unanimously expressed its agreement with the views set by the University and I would request Government to consider all these aspects and take the memorandum also into consideration to the extent to which they may feel justified.

* SRI MAHOMED USMAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I congratulate the Hon. Leader of the Opposition on the excellent speech that he has made today. I entirely agree with him. I have been connected with the administration of this country in some of the highest offices for 15 years and have been a legislator in this

Chamber from 1920. I know the feelings of the people of this State as regards the language question. I am an Urdu-speaking Muslim. So I am not showing any kind of partiality to my mother-tongue. When I speak to-day I do so as one who has moved with the people and who knows the feelings of the people.

As far as Tamil is concerned, it is the national language of the Tamils. As far as Hindi is concerned, it can never become the national language of the Tamils. If there is any one language that the people here want, it is Tamil. Therefore Government would be committing a grievous blunder, if they do not communicate the views of the people on this question to the Language Commission and to the Centre. It is all very easy for anyone to say that for the sake of self-respect Hindi should be the national language. I think we must tell the Government of India clearly that Tamil should be our regional language in our State for legislative, administrative, educational and judicial purposes. As far as the Central Government are concerned, it is their concern. They must manage things for themselves taking into account the feelings of the people here. What they must do is, as the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has suggested, to have more than one national language. What I want to tell the Government of India is in South India you cannot force Hindi down the throats of the people. I cannot agree with Mr. Bashyam that language brings unity. What I say is, continue the present state of affairs for 20 or 30 years more. Let English be continued as at present and let Tamil be properly developed, so that when the time comes, it could take the place of English in South India.

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, really my position is very delicate because I am speaking after two giants.

SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI: கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, தமிழைப்பற்றி பேசும்பொழுது அங்கத்தினர்கள் ஒங்கிலீஷிலேயே ஜிங்காமிர்சமாசப் பேசிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தமிழ் வேண்டுமென்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசி புரியவைப்பதைக்காட்டிலும் தமிழிலேயே பேசி புரியவைப்பது effective-ஆக இருக்குமல்லவா ?

SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYACAR: நான் அண்ணாமலையாருக்குச் சொல்ல விரும்புவது என்னவென்றால் இங்கே இப்பொழுது பேசுவதெல்லாம் வடக்கே போகப் போகிறது. ஆகையால் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசினால்தான் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். நாம் தமிழில் பேசினால் அங்கு இருக்கும் அதிகாரிகளுக்குப் புரியாது. அதனால் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசினால் தெளிவாக இருக்கும். தமிழில் பேசி மொழி பெயர்த்தால் சில சமயம் அது மொழிபெயர்ப்பாகிவிடும். ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுவதனால் தமிழின்பால் இருக்கும் அன்பும் குறையவில்லை. ஹிந்திக்கு எதிர்ப்பமில்லை. இந்த விஷயத்தை அண்ணாமலையார் அறியும்படியாய் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI: கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது இங்கு பேசி முடிவு செய்வதெல்லாம் வட இந்தியர்களுக்குத் தெரியும்படியாக இருக்கவேண்டும். அவர்களுக்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசினால்தான் புரியும். அதனால் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுவதாக கனம அங்கத்தினர் ஸ்ரீ கஜபதி நாயகர் இப்பொழுது சொன்னார். அதேமாதிரி இவ்விடம்

நடக்கும் அரசாங்கத்துக்கும் வட இந்தியாவுக்கும் தொடர்பு இருக்கிறது. ஆகவே வட இந்தியர் பாஷையாகிய இந்தியை இங்கு பேசுவது அவசியம் அல்லவா ? அரசாங்கமும் அவர்கள் பாஷையிலேயேதான் நடக்கவேண்டு மென்றுகூட சொல்லிவிடலாம். தமிழ் வேண்டுமென்று பேசும்பொழுது தமிழிலேயே பேசினால்தான் ஒரு புரட்சிகரமாக இருக்கும். அதை விட்டு விட்டு ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுவது அவர்களுக்கே சரியாக புரிகிறதோ இல்லையோ என்பது எனக்குத் தெரியாது. இங்குள்ள மெம்பர்கள் சில பேருகளுக்குத் தொடர்ந்து தமிழிலே 15 நிமி ஷங்கள சரியாகபேசுவதற்கு முடியாது. ஆனால் சிலர் நன்றாக பேசுகிறவர் களும் இருக்கிறார்கள். எனது நண்பர் கஜபதி நாயகர் இது நாள்வரையில் தமிழ் வேண்டும், தமிழில் பேச வேண்டும் என்று ஆரவாரம் செய்துவிட்டு தமிழ் பாஷை வேண்டும் என்று வற்புறுத்தும் சமயத்தில் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேச ஆரம்பித்துவிட்டார். ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசினால்தான் வட இந்தியர் களுக்குப் புரியும். பத்திரிகைகளில் வரும் என்றெல்லாம் சொல்லு கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்குப் புரிந்தால் புரியட்டும், இல்லாவிட்டால் போகட்டும். தமிழைப்பற்றி பேசும்பொழுது தமிழிலேயே பேசி ஒரு புரட்சியை உண் டாக்கி முதலில் இங்கு இருப்பவர்களுக்குப் புரியும்படி செய்ய வேண்டு மென்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

5 p.m. SRI A. GAJAPATHY NAYAGAR: வட இந்தியமக்களுக்குப் புரியவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. நாம் இங்கு பேசுவது அங்கு இருக்கும் அதிகாரிகளுக்குப் புரிய வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னேன்.

THE HON. SRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM: இப்பொழுது பாஷையைப்பற்றி பேசும்பொழுது நிர்ப்பந்தம் கூடாது. அந்த அடிப் படையில்தான் இங்கு விவாதம் நடக்கிறது. இம்மாதிரி விஷயத்தில் நிர்ப்பந்திக்கக் கூடாது. அவரவர்களுக்கு எந்த பாஷையில் பேசவேண்டு மென்று பிரியம் இருக்கிறதோ அந்த பாஷையில் பேச விட்டுவிடுவதுதான் நலம். ஆகையால் இதைப்பற்றி சர்ச்சை வேண்டாமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளு கிறேன்.

SRI MOHAMED RAZA KHAN: Sir, will Mr. Annamalai Pillai have another opportunity to speak or has he finished his speech now?

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have already said that my position is really very difficult, as I have to speak after two big giants, namely, Dr. Mudaliar and Sri Mahomed Usman. When these two big men have spoken they have done so with a great sense of responsibility and no one can question either their patriotism or their attachment to the country and things like that. They have got as much patriotism for the country as anyone else. That is why it is very difficult for me to speak. Further they have expressed very definite views as far as the question of common language is concerned. But, Sir, one thing is clear and it is this. Under our Constitution, it has been laid down that Hindi in the Devanagari script shall be our National language. Whatever may be our criticisms, our Constitution was framed by our representatives: there were representatives from the South, the whole South—Malabar was there, Tamilnad was there, Telugus were there and the Kanarese were there; the Bengalis, Panjabis and all people from all parts of the country were there. In such a representative Assembly this language question was decided. For the matter of that, Hindi is not the mother-tongue of the Bengalis; Hindi is not the mother-tongue of the Malayalees nor is it the

mother-tongue of the Tamils. It is the mother-tongue of people in some portions of India in the North, namely, Bihar,, Uttar Pradesh and certain portions of Punjab and the Madhya Pradesh.

Whatever may be the views of Musalmans, whether their Hindi was Urdu or their Urdu was Hindi or Hindustani, Mussalmans were not speaking pure Arabic, Persian or any other pure language. They are talking only a pure Indian language. What we call Hindi or Hindustani is not the language of the Musalmans brought over from Afghanistan or Persia or Arabia. It is purely a language of this land. The language was born here, brought up and enriched here and today it has the charms of a beautiful damsel. There seems to be some unfavourable feelings behind the minds of almost all the Musalmans. Perhaps if the Constitution had said that Hindustani shall be our National language, the Musalmans would have supported that. Whatever it is whether you call it Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani, it is a different thing. Let us not fight over words. Whether they call it Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani it is the language spoken and understood by the majority of the people. People who know Urdu understand the spoken Hindi, that is, the ordinary Hindi. No doubt there may be some slight difference in the matter of certain stray words.

In this connexion, I have to say another thing and it is this. Whatever be the acts of omission and commission of the Musalmans, one thing is clear that they have done a great service to the country. Never think of the Taj Mahal or the Red Fort. They have done one thing with the best interests of the country at heart and that is they have given us a common language. Our friends may say today that we do not have a common language. But I say we have a common language and it is Hindi. In Madras both Musalmans and some others understand Hindi. I am not exaggerating and I am not given to exaggerations. Let us go to Hyderabad and see . . .

SRI MAHOMED USMAN : When I listen to a Hindi speech, I do not generally understand 75 per cent of the Hindi spoken and I understand only a few words. Hindi is quite different from Urdu. My friend there does not know anything about it.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI : I am sorry, the hon. Member's charge is not correct. It is because there is perhaps some attempt, very serious attempt being made by some people in the North to make Hindi not understandable. I am not talking of that Hindi. I am speaking of that Hindi which Gandhiji spoke; which Pandit Nehru speaks; which Maulana Azad speaks. What I beg to submit is this. There is some attempt in the North to make Hindi completely ununderstandable by borrowing the majority of the words from Sanskrit and thus they make it not clearly understood. It is a very narrow outlook of a small minority. In course of time it will go. What I wish to stress is this that there is a common language whether you call it Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani

and we have to accept that. Let us go to any part of India and let us speak with people there in some broken Hindi and they understand it; let us go to the Punjab. The language of the Punjab is Punjabi; let us go there and speak to the people there in broken Hindi; they understand it. Therefore, I say there is a common language in India and there is no doubt about that. I am talking of that language which is spoken and understood by the majority of Indians whether you call it Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu. I am not at all worried by what name you call it. Most of our people understand it. Sir, there may be some exaggeration when people in the North say that about 14 or 15 crores of people talk and understand Hindi. That may be incorrect. But the fact remains that the vast majority of our people understand that language. But, again, I have to say (I have to use so many 'buts'), under the Constitution Hindi will be our national language within a period of fifteen years. As far as the question of language is concerned, it is absolutely definite that we are going to have that language and we cannot go behind. The question is only about the time to be allowed and whether it would not be proper on the part of the Central Government to give us sufficient interval. Of course, that is a different matter. How can we say that Hindi shall not be the national language of India? Now it is too late to go behind. Our Constitution lays down that Hindi is the national language of India. (Sri Mahomed Usman : Our Constitution has been changed half a dozen times!) But it will never change so far as the national language is concerned. (Sri Mahomed Usman : How does the hon. Member know that?) It is because we must have a common language.

5-10 p.m.

Now, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, has n a way accepted one fact. Suppose we go to UNO as Members, or Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar goes as a Member. No doubt, he will speak beautiful English. There is no doubt about that. But suppose there is the question of choice of language. What will be our position? (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar : I may be disqualified.) Sir, I am a Tamilian. I have got as much love for Tamil as anybody here has got. Even to-day I am devoting one or two hours for that language. I was a very good student in Tamil in my college days. My mother-tongue is Tamil and we speak Tamil in our home. There is no question of anybody doubting my love for that language. But what I wish to impress is this. We must have some common language. Our Constitution says that Hindi shall be our common language. So long as that remains in the Constitution and so long as we have not made any change so far as that position is concerned, are we not bound by that? I am not a fanatic. I do not believe in fanaticism in anything. We have become an independent nation. We have to send our Ambassadors to several countries in the world. From that point of view, I would even request the Universities to make provision for the teaching of very many languages like French, Italian, Japanese, German and so on. So there is no doubt that we have to learn a number of languages and

along with those languages English also. I do not say that we should not have English or that we should not teach English here. The only question now is whether we should have a common language for our country or not. It is a simple question. It is a different matter whether to have it now or some time later. But the important point is whether we should not have a common language at all for our country.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Sir, I cannot understand what the hon. Member means when he says "common language". I want enlightenment from him. For example, let us take Tamil Nad. Tamil is the common language here. It is spoken by everybody. Does the hon. Member want that Hindi should come to that stage and should be spoken by everybody and that mother-tongue should be spoken only in our homes. Is that his conception of common language or does he mean that Hindi should take the place of English, that is, the language of the intelligentia should become Hindi?

SRI MAHOMED USMAN: If I remember aright, in the Constitution Hindi is referred to as the official language and not as "common language." My Friend has all along been saying that Hindi is the "common language".

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: Sir, when I speak about a particular matter, I speak with a certain amount of knowledge about it. Even to-day, I may tell you, that more people understand Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani—whatever you may call it. More people know Hindi than those that understand English. No one can question that.

DR. V. K. JOHN: May I point out that in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, Hindi and Urdu are shown as separate languages. The hon. Member should not confuse between Urdu and Hindi.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI: Sir, I am not confusing. I am stating hard facts. I can understand what the Hon. Minister has said. If we are to say that we are not going to enforce Hindi on our people right from the first standard or if we are not going to say that all our childen must learn it, then we will be only lagging behind the rest of the country. Sir, we belong to a small State comprising of 13 districts. We have to rise up to the highest stature in the land. Let us not in our local patriotism forget our future. Let us remember that we belong to a tiny place. (Sri A. Gajapathy Nayagar: Significant place?) I agree that our State is one of the significant places. Sir, soon after the Great War of Independence in 1857, the Muslims of this country boycotted English. It may be due to their patriotism or due to other reasons. What was the result? They were left behind. At least we can understand the reason for that. But what is the reason here? After all, Hindi is one of the languages of our

country. It is a language spoken by the bulk of the people of our country. It is understood all over the country. Nobody can deny these facts. No one can say that this is an incorrect statement. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition said in his speech that English language was being taught even from the fourth or fifth standard in many other countries. It is quite a good thing. When it is so in the case of English, why should we not follow it in the case of a language of our own country? I have got great respect for that language. I know that English was not so much developed some centuries ago but now it has grown into a mighty language. When it is possible for our little children to pick up a foreign language such as English, will it be difficult for them to learn Hindi or Hindustani? In course of time, they will pick up. But if you are to say that they cannot pick up, I can tell you, Sir, that we will be left behind. I do not know why this South Indian Tamilian, brilliant Tamilian, far-seeing Tamilian, brave Tamilian, and wise Tamilian, should be left behind. That is my chief point. We can ask the Central Government to give us some more time. As a matter of fact, I myself fought at the Presiding Officers' Conference when one of the Members wanted to speak in Hindi. Our Hon. Chairman also was there at the conference. One gentleman wanted to speak in Hindi. We protested. We said, "No.", because we did not understand. Now we are all old parrots. It will be very difficult for us to express ourselves in Hindi as clearly as we do in English or in our own mother-tongue. If we want extension of time, we can ask for it. If we want exemptions, by all means we can have exemptions. People who have got degrees, if necessary, may be exempted. I can understand this. But as far as our children are concerned, within fifteen years, they would learn the language very easily. They must know Hindi. These are all days of competition. We are in a competitive world. Our children if they do not learn Hindi will be at a disadvantage. I think the Brahmans are very wise people. Almost all their children have picked up Hindi. I find it is only the Non-Brahman children—either because of some kind of agitation or otherwise—do not learn Hindi. They should all learn Hindi. They should not fight against that language. After all the Hindi language is the language of our own country. It is not a foreign language. As a matter of fact, I am not a fanatic. I do not blame the English language. If Chinese language is beautiful, why not I learn that language. That is the spirit in which we should take things. The same is the case with regard to Hindi. Some of the great scholars in Hindi have told me that they have the best music in Hindi. I think, therefore, there is a case for our learning Hindi. If we want extension of time, we can ask for it, and that is a reasonable request. The Central Government will listen to us. Even this Commission will listen to us. I read the amendment moved by the hon. Member. The amendment appears to me to make out that there is no Hindi language now. The amendment doubts if there is any Hindi language at all now. This is not correct. We have already

5-20 p.m.

accepted Hindi language as the official language of the Indian Union but subject to certain conditions. We can say that the time given for the change-over is not quite sufficient, and that Hindi language should not be imposed upon us. We can say that it will not be proper on the part of the Central Government to impose upon us the duty of speaking in Parliament or other places only in Hindi. If more time is given, our children will learn the Hindi language and beat the children in the North in their own language. We are a very brilliant people, and we can pick up Hindi in no time. That is the position.

DR. V. K. JOHN : May I ask whether the hon. Member has done it himself?

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI : I am trying.

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR : You can do it in no time.

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAI : I have already told that we are all old. If we are able to devote at least an hour a day, I am positive that we can pick up something, but we will not be as proficient as we are in English. It is impossible for us to attain that position. For so many years we have been learning English and we have been paying much attention to English. Even after so much devotion, we are making mistakes at times. Therefore, let us view the whole question in broad perspective. There is no question of Tamil versus Hindi. Tamil is a beautiful language. No one is going to say that we should not love it. Let us not confuse issues. The one thing is that we should have a common official language and that official language has been recognized by our Constitution as Hindi. We are bound by our Constitution and by the word given by our representatives at the time of the framing of the Constitution. In the light of these facts, we have to consider the whole question.

* SRIMATHI R. S. SUBBALAKSHMI : கனம் சேர்மன் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது இருக்கின்ற ஒரு முக்கியமான பிரச்னை இந்தியாவுக்கு ஒரு பொதுவான பாஷை வேண்டுமா, வேண்டாமா என்பதுதான். (At this stage the Deputy Chairman occupied the Chair.) இந்தியாவுக்கு சுதந்திரம் கிடைத்திருக்கிறது. இந்தியாவின் பல பாகங்களிலுமிருக்கின்ற ஜனங்கள் அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் நாம் ஒரு தேசத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் என்றும் ஒற்றுமை உணர்ச்சியை உணர்வதற்கு பாஷை என்பது ஒரு cementing factor அல்லவா? பழைய காலத்தில் ஆதி சங்கராச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இந்தியாவின் பல பாகங்களுக்கும் சென்று மத ஸ்தாபனங்கள் ஏற்படுத்தி ஜனங்கள் பல இடங்களுக்குப் போய் தீர்த்தாடனம் செய்யவும் கோத்திரங்களை சரிசெய்யவும் செய்து அதன் மூலம் ஒரு ஒற்றுமையை உண்டாக்க முயற்சி செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆக பாஷை, மதம் இவ்விரண்டும் தேச மக்களை ஒற்றுமை படுத்தும் முக்கியமான சாதனங்கள். இப்பொழுது நம் தேசத்தில் மலையாளி ஒருவன் பஞ்சாபி ஒருவனோடு correspond பண்ண வேண்டுமானால், ஒருவருக்கொருவர் அபிப்பிராயத்தை கலந்து கொள்ள வேண்டுமானால் எந்த பாஷையில் கலந்து

கொள்ள முடியும்? ஆங்கிலம் இந்தியாவின் பொது பாஷையாக இருக்க முடியுமென்று தோன்றவில்லை. அது ஒரு international பாஷையாகத்தான் இருக்க முடியும். ஆக, இந்தியாவுக்கு ஒரு பொதுவான பாஷை இருக்கவேண்டுமானால் அது எந்த பாஷையாக இருக்க முடியும் என்பதுதான் இப்பொழுது ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டிருக்கும் விஷயமாகும்.

இந்தியாவிலே பல பாகங்களிலும் ஹிந்தி இப்பொழுது அதிகமாக பரவிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ஆக, அதுதான் ஒரு பொது பாஷையாக இருக்க முடியுமென்பது எத்தனையோ பேர்களின் அபிப்பிராயமாகும். இப்பொழுது நமது சகோதரர் டாக்டர் லக்ஷ்மணசுவாமி முதலியார் இதர தேசங்களிலெல்லாம் ஒரு பாஷைதான் என்பதில்லை, இரண்டு அல்லது மூன்று பாஷை கற்றுக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பது நிர்பந்தமாக இருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னார். அதே மாதிரி நம்முடைய தேசத்திலும் நல்ல அறிவாளிகளான இளைஞர்கள் மூன்று பாஷைகள் கற்றுக் கொள்ளுவது ஒரு கஷ்டமே அல்ல என்பது என்னுடைய வணக்கமான அபிப்பிராயம்.

முதலாவதாக, மாதுர் பாஷை, அதாவது தாய் பாஷையை விடவே கூடாது. ஐந்தாவது வகுப்புவரை தாய் பாஷையை கண்டிப்பாக கற்றுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும். அடுத்தபடியாக, National language அதாவது தேசத்துக்கு ஒரு பொதுவான பாஷை இருக்க வேண்டியது நிரம்ப அவசியமாகும். மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின் வேலைக்குப் போனால் ஒவ்வொரு பாஷைக்கும் ஒரு மொழி பெயர்ப்பாளர் இருப்பது என்பது முடியுமா? அதோடு, மனம் விட்டு ஒருவரோடு ஒருவர் கலந்து பேசுவதற்கு பாஷை ஒன்று பொதுவாக இல்லா விட்டால் அது கொஞ்சம் அந்த தேசத்துக்கு ஒரு குறைவு என்றுதான் நினைக்க வேண்டும். ஒவ்வொருவரும் தாய் பாஷை ஒன்றும், அடுத்தபடியாக தேச பொது பாஷை ஒன்றும், மூன்றுவதாக யாருக்கு முடியுமோ—எல்லோராலும் முடியாது,—நூற்றுக்கு ஒருவர் அல்லது இருவர் ஆங்கிலத்தையும் கற்றுக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். ஆங்கிலத்தையும் ஒரு international பாஷையாக சேர்த்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டியதுதான். இதர தேசங்களில் சர்வ கலாசாலைகளில் எப்படி மூன்று பாஷைகள் படிப்பது சிரமமில்லையோ, அதே மாதிரி நம்முடைய தேசத்திலும் ஒவ்வொரு University-யிலும் மூன்று பாஷைகள் இருக்க வேண்டியது அவசியம்தான். அதில் சிரமமில்லை. University-களில் regional language பிரதேச பாஷை medium-ஆக இருக்க வேண்டுமா, அல்லது ஆங்கிலம் medium-ஆக இருக்க வேண்டுமா என்பது ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்னை. இந்தப் பிரச்னை 15 வருஷங்களில் ஒரு வேளை தீரக்கூடும். ஆனால் இடையில் இப்பொழுது தற்காலத்துக்கு மூன்று பாஷை ஒவ்வொரு இடத்திலும் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவது என்பது கஷ்டமே இல்லை. நம் இந்தியா ஒரே Nation என்னும் ஒற்றுமை உணர்ச்சி ஏற்படுவதற்கு
5-30 p.m. கட்டயமாக ஹிந்தி ஒன்றுதான் பொது பாஷையாக முடியும். எனென்றால் மற்ற பாஷைகளெல்லாம் சில பேர்கள்தான் பேசுகிறார்கள். ஹிந்தி பாஷையைத்தான் இந்தியாவில் பெரும்பான்மையாக அதிக ஜனத்தொகையினர் பேசுகின்றனர். அதுதான் ஒரு பொது பாஷையாக இருக்கிறது. ஆக, ஹிந்தியை பொது பாஷையாக ஆக்குவது எளிது, சிரமமல்ல என்று எனக்குத் தோன்றுகிறது. இந்த மொழிப் பிரச்னையில் மூன்று பாஷைகளையும் ஒவ்வொரு இடத்திலும் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளைச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

* Sri T. PURUSHOTHAM: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I gladly support the well thought out amendment moved by the hon. Member the Chief Whip of the Opposition because I am in full agreement with the general principles underlying the amendment proposed by him. After hearing the emphatic and spirited speech of our veteran leader Sri Mahomed Usman Saheb, I feel there is no necessity for me to say much on this subject. Of course, one

should be glad to have a national language for national solidarity. But, in a country like ours with numerous languages, there are practical difficulties and there is no use overlooking those facts. As pointed out by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition in his brilliant exposition of this language question, a working arrangement should be evolved for official purposes at the Centre and in the States, a satisfactory arrangement suited to the different States. I believe the specific suggestions made in the amendment that regional language should be the court language and mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges are the best solution possible and I would appeal to the Government that they should stress this point of view in presenting their memorandum to the Official Language Commission. It should also be made clear that whatever may be the language at the Centre, the State should have the regional language as the official language. I believe there can be no two opinions about it.

Only one point I wish to stress and that is about the proposed Hindi Test for public servants to be recruited to the Central Services. I do not believe that mastery of any language is beyond our capacity, especially for those in the South, for have we not mastered a foreign language? But, I feel that we should not be placed at a disadvantage in this matter by this rule which requires the imposition of a Language Test in Hindi before recruitment to public services. The selection should not be on the basis of any language test. I should like to point out to the House that recruitment to services in this State is at present not done on any such test. A language test is prescribed as an additional qualification for future promotions. We should certainly draw the attention of the Language Commission and the Central Government to the strong feelings on the question of Public Service Examinations in this part of the country and I trust our Ministers would not mince matters in making this clear to them. With these few remarks I support the motion moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House with the amendment as proposed by the hon. Member Sri Mohamed Raza Khan.

* DR. V. K. JOHN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is a very important matter and I wish that we, in this House, give expression unanimously to one point of view. I am definitely of the opinion Sir, that this House ought to endorse the answers to the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission as adopted by the Syndicate at its meeting held on 2nd September 1955 and approved by the Academic Council at its meeting held on the 15th September 1955.

Sir, the University of Madras has given a great lead on this question. I wish that this House endorses its report. The amendment moved by my hon. Friend Sri Mahomed Raza Khan is in substance to adopt the report and the answers given by the University of Madras and I express my grateful thanks to the

lead which the University, led of course by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in this House, has given in this matter. Sir, I look at this problem not from the point of view of the State or the States. I look at the problem from the point of view of the whole country. If any language is enforced on unwilling people, then it will be a source of disunity. For example, the Governing Party in Pakistan—the Muslim League—wanted to introduce Urdu in East Bengal. What was the result? The result was the people in East Bengal rose up in rebellion and, in the election, the Muslim League lost and lost very heavily. The lesson is that no language should be enforced against the wishes of the people. I can quite understand that. When Article 343 was enacted, the framers of the Constitution were under the hope that Hindi would become the official language of this country. But, they were not quite sure about it and therefore Article 344 provided for a Commission or a Committee of Parliament and we must know the wording used in sub-clause (6) of Article 344. The wording is "Notwithstanding anything in Article 343, the President may, after consideration of the report referred to in clause (5), issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report". That is, Article 343 can be ignored if the Committee of Members of both Houses in Parliament examine the report of the Commission and say that it is necessary to repeal Article 343 or that it must be kept in abeyance. The President is given jurisdiction to do so. I will go further and say, Sir, after gaining the experience for a few years and particularly of the opposition in this part of the country, it is now essential, for the unity of the country, to repeal Article 343. Hindi must be only one of the 14 languages mentioned in the eighth schedule. A time may come—it may not be in our lifetime, it may be generations hence—when people may take kindly to Hindi or any other language. A claim is now put forward that Hindi is superior to Tamil or Malayalam. Tamil perhaps is older than Hindi and it is much more expressive. It is not spoken by as many people as Hindi is spoken. But that is no reason why Hindi should be enforced on people unwilling to take it. Therefore my definite opinion is that you must repeal Article 343 and later on Hindi, on its own merits, might raise itself to be a language which will be learnt by our children and grand-children. It may take its place then. But I cannot expect it would take the place of the official language of India for a long time to come. I do not think that India should have only one official language now. If you insist on one official language and put pressure and force Hindi in other parts of the country where Hindi is not spoken, this country will be disintegrated. It will never unite. People generally think that language will unite people. Language may be a weapon for disunion as well. I cited the instance of East Bengal before. Therefore the definite opinion of the people, who have thought about this matter, is that Article 343 must stand repealed and must be considered as repealed by the report of the President on the committee's report. We have to help the committee. I do not

5 40 p.m.

want to look at this problem from the point of view of Madras State or any State in South India or of Bengal, where Hindi is not spoken. I would look at this from the point of view of national unity, national integrity and solidarity. If we are to achieve that, you should not force Hindi on people who are not prepared to accept it. (The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam : If Article 343 is repealed, what will be the official language?) Three languages are official languages in Switzerland wherein the population is four and a half millions. Two languages are official languages in Canada. Two languages are official languages in South Africa and there are many places where two languages are official languages. I do not think there could be any objection to having all the 14 languages listed in the eighth schedule as the official languages of India. We must wait and see whether any one of these languages could dominate over other languages. We may wait for another 30 years. You must proceed like that. My point is, the Official Language Commission ought to know that we in South India (I think it is the same with reference to non-Hindi-speaking people in other parts of India also) are not prepared to have Hindi enforced on us either by statute or by Government. As pointed out in the University memorandum, there can be translators. Where is the difficulty at all? Forcing a language, the Commission should know, is not acceptable to the people of this part of the country and it will be a source of disunity and we must prevent it. After all we recently won independence. We are one united nation and we must have an emotional integration of the country.

As the Hon. Leader of the Opposition said, suppose you try to force Tamil on others saying it is 3,000 years old and it is a beautiful language, do you know what would be its reaction on others? Do you think Tamil would be learnt? No, on the other hand there will be hatred for Tamil. Even those people who would have learnt it voluntarily would not learn it, if you try to force it on them. Therefore I say it is in the interest of the propagation of the Hindi language that it is not forced on people, who are not willing to accept it. If you try to force it, there will be reaction, opposition, etc. I want the Commission definitely to know that. I have talked with many people and considered this matter myself and I want the Commission definitely to note that forcing Hindi on people who do not want it, will stand in the way of the unity of the country, which we all want to preserve.

One point has not been mentioned in the memorandum submitted by the University in reply to the questionnaire of the Official Language Commission. It is with reference to the language of the courts. The language of our courts is the regional language as well as English language.

(At this stage Mr. Chairman resumed the Chair.)

The regional language can be more and more employed even in arguing cases in our courts. But there is one thing which we must remember. We draw our guidance and inspiration from

reported judgments of the English and American courts. There is no difficulty perhaps in having translations. But I do not think that Hindi can in a language, for a very long time to come, of the Supreme Court. People from South India have to go and argue cases in the Supreme Court. Judgments of the Supreme Court have to be followed by other courts and those judgments have to be translated into the different regional languages. My point is that litigation in the Supreme Court is not confined to litigation from Hindi-speaking areas alone. Therefore English will have to be continued until a time comes when some language develops which will be accepted voluntarily and willingly by all people as the national language. Until then, the language of the Supreme Court could not be Hindi at all. The language in the Supreme Court should be all the 14 languages, which could be translated. So also in Parliament.

Before I sit down I want to say one word more. The one factor that has contributed to the repercussions in the minds of the people in this part of the country is the insistence of Members of Parliament, of the House of the People and the Council of States, speaking in Hindi, even though they could talk in English. They know English. They are graduates, educated people. Still or out of a desire to enforce Hindi on everybody, they speak in Hindi in Parliament. I hope the Home Minister will understand that this speaking in Hindi in Parliament by those who know English, has created a very strong feeling against Hindi in other parts of the country where Hindi is not spoken, particularly in this part of the country. I should warn the authorities and I should also request the members of the Central Legislature if they want Hindi to spread, to spread it with the co-operation of all people and not by enforcing it on others in the manner in which they are now trying to do it. I fully endorse the memorandum submitted by the University in reply to the questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission. I do hope this House, at least a large majority of the members of this House, would endorse that memorandum so that the lead given by the University will be accepted by us. I also hope that Government would express their endorsement of the answers given to the questionnaire by the University and to the lead that the University had given in this matter.

5-30 p.m.

* SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI : கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இப் பொழுது நமது நாட்டிலே அரசியல் மொழி இந்தி என்று அரசியல் சட்டத்திலே கூறப்பட்டிருப்பதினால் அதை எப்படி எத்தனை ஆண்டுகளுக் குள்ளே அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்பதை ஆராய்ந்து கூறு வதற்கு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற ஒரு குழுவினர் தயாரித்திருக்கும் கேள்வித் தாளைப் பற்றி ஆராய்வதற்கு தீர்மானம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதைப் பற்றி பேசிய சில நண்பர்கள், அரசியல் சட்டத்திலே ஏற்கனவே இந்தி அரசியல் மொழியாக வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறபடி யால் அதைக் கட்டாயம் கொண்டு வரவேண்டியது நமது கடமை, யாரும் அதற்கு இப்பொழுது மறுப்புச் சொல்லுவது நியாயமில்லை என்று சொல் லியிருக்கிறார்கள். நாமே ஏற்படுத்திக் கொண்ட அரசியல் சட்டத்திற்கு மதிப்புக் கொடுத்து அதன்படி அடங்கி நடப்பது நம்முடைய கடமையும்

உரிமையுமாகும் என்பதை நான் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆனல் ஒரு விஷயத்தை நினைவுபடுத்த விரும்புகிறேன். நமக்கு சுதந்திரம் கொடுத்து வெள்ளையர் வெளியேறிய உடன் நம் நாட்டுக்கு ஏற்ற ஒரு அரசியல் சட்டத்தை வகுக்க, அதற்காக ஒரு தேர்தல் நடுத்தி பொது மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபை ஏற்படுத்தப்படவில்லை. ஏதோ காரணம் பற்றி அப்பொழுது இருந்த மாகாண சட்டசபைகளால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட பிரதிநிதிகளைக் கொண்ட அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபைதான் இந்த அரசியல் சட்டத்தை வகுத்தது. நம் தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பொருத்த மட்டில் யார் அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையில் அங்கம் வகித்தால் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு மரியாதையும் நம்பிக்கையும் இருந்திருக்குமோ அவர்களில் அநேகம் பேர் அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையில் இடம் பெறவில்லை என்பதை யாரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. ஆனல் அதில் அங்கம் வகித்த நமது அமைச்சர் கனம் சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்களைக் கொண்டு இன்று தமிழுக்கு வருகிற ஆபத்தை தடுக்க முடியும். அவர் அதற்கு வேண்டிய பிரயத்தனம் செய்வது மிகவும் வரவேற்கத்தக்கது. அதற்கு நாம் அவர்களுக்குக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறோம் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.

அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபை அரசியல் சட்டத்தை வகுத்த பிறகு முடிவில் அதில் அங்கத்தினர்கள் கையெழுத்திட ஆரம்பிக்கும்பொழுது யார் எந்த மொழியில் கையெழுத்திட வேண்டுமென்ற பிரச்னை வந்தது. அப்பொழுது இந்த அரசியல் மொழி குழுவினரின் தலைவர் ஸ்ரீ பி. ஜி. கெர் தன்னுடைய தாய் மொழியான மராட்டியில் கையெழுத்திட்டார். அதைப் பார்த்து நமது ஸ்ரீ டி. டி. கிருஷ்ணமாச்சாரியார் தமிழ் மொழியில் கையெழுத்திட்டார் என்று கேள்விப்படுகிறேன். ஆகையால் அப்பொழுதே தாய் மொழி என்கின்ற ஆர்வம் எல்லோருக்கும் இருந்தது என்பதை மறுக்க முடியாது. மத்திய அரசாங்கம் நடத்துவதற்கு ஒரு மொழி அவசியமென்றும் அதை எப்பொழுது எப்படி அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வருவது என்பதைப் பரிசீலிக்க அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள குழுவில் 14 இந்திய மொழிகளுக்கும் சரியான பிரதிநிதித்துவம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருப்பதாக நமது மத்திய அரசாங்கத்து உள்நாட்டு அமைச்சர் கனம் பந்த் அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதில் இப்பொழுது அங்கம் வகிப்போர்களின்மீது யாதொரு குறையும் சொல்லவில்லை. தமிழ் மக்களுக்கும் இந்திக்கும் வெகு தூரம் இருக்கிறது, தொடர்பு இல்லை என்று தமிழ் மக்கள் வெகு நாளாக கிளர்ச்சி செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தமிழ் மக்களின் நம்பிக்கைக்குப் பாத்திரமானவர்களும் அந்தத் துறையிலே மாறுபட்ட கருத்துக்கொண்டவர்களில் ஒருவரையாவது இந்தக் குழுவில் அங்கம் வகிக்கச் செய்திருக்க வேண்டும். ஒரு வேளை மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துக்கு இந்த மாதிரி நம்பிக்கை உள்ளவர்கள் கிடைக்கவில்லையென்றால் தமிழ் துறையில் ஆர்வம் உள்ளவர்களில் அவர்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கையுள்ள ஒருவரையாவது நியமித்திருக்கலாம். அல்லது இங்கே இரண்டு சர்வ கலாசாலைகளின் துணை வேந்தர்களில் ஒருவரையாவது நியமித்திருக்கலாம். அல்லது அங்கு தமிழ் துறையிலே தலைவர்களாக இருக்கிறவர்களை ஒருவரையாவது இந்தக் குழுவில் அங்கம் வகிக்கும்படிச் செய்திருந்தால் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படக்கூடும். மேலும் இந்தக் குழுவினர் தங்கள் சிபார்சுகளைச் செய்யும் போது இந்தியாவின் கைத்தொழில், கலை, விஞ்ஞானம் முதலியவைகளின் வளர்ச்சியையும் இந்தி இல்லாத பிரதேசங்களில் உள்ள மக்களின் நியாயமான கோரிக்கைகளையும் உரிமைகளையும் கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று இரண்டாவது பாராவில் கட்டளையிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த விஷயத்தில் யோசனை சொல்லுவதற்கு தமிழ் துறையிலே வல்லமை கொண்டவர் ஒருவர் அந்தக் குழுவில் இருந்தால்தான் நமது தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு பாதகம் ஏற்படாமல் இருக்கும். மற்றபடி இருக்கின்ற அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கொண்டு நமக்கு நம்பிக்கை ஏற்பட வழியில்லை.

அடுத்தபடியாக, இந்தக் குழுவினர் வெளியிட்டிருக்கிற விளக்கங்களின் போக்கைப் பார்க்கும்பொழுது அவைகள் ஆங்கிலத்தை எவ்வளவு விரைவில் விரட்டலாம், சமஸ்கிருதத்துக்கு எவ்வளவு விரைவில் உயிர் கொடுக்கலாம்

என்கின்ற முறையிலேதான் அமைந்திருக்கின்றன. ஆகையால இதனால் தமிழ் மொழிக்கு வரவிருக்கும் அபாயத்தைப் பற்றி யோசிக்க வேண்டும். இதனால் நான் இந்தி மொழியின்மீது வெறுப்புக் கொண்டு பேசுவதாக அர்த்தமில்லை. மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தில் இந்தி அரசியல் மொழியாக வரும்பொழுது நமது ராஜ்யத்திலே எது அரசாங்க மொழியாக இருக்கவேண்டும். நம்முடைய மொழி என்ன என்பதை ஆராய்ந்து பார்ப்பதுதான் என்னுடைய கவலை. இந்தியை கட்டாயமாக புகுத்துவதில்லையென்று சொல்லி, தென் நாட்டில் இந்தியை மெதுவாக எவ்வளவு தூரம் பரப்பலாமோ அவ்வளவு தூரம் பரப்புவதற்கு மத்திய அரசாங்கம் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். 2,000 இந்தி ஆசிரியர்களை நியமிக்கவும் கலைச் சொற்களைத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கவும் ஏற்பாடு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். நமது தமிழ் நாட்டிலே நமக்கு வேண்டிய தமிழ் கலைச் சொற்களை தயார் செய்வதற்கு நாம் அவ்வளவு தூரம் முன்வரவில்லை. அந்த நிலையிலே மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின் அரசியல் மொழியான இந்தி இங்கு கட்டாயமாக வந்து சேர்ந்தால் அது நம் தாய்மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு தடையை ஏற்படுத்திவிடும். இங்குள்ள பெருவாரியான மக்கள் கட்டாயப் படுத்தப்பட்டு இந்தியைக் கற்றுவிடுவார்கள். எல்லோருக்கும் இந்தி தெரியும்பொழுது என் இங்கும் இந்தியை அரசியல் மொழியாக வைத்துக்கொள்ளக் கூடாது என்ற போக்கு பின்னல் வரும் அமைச்சர்களுக்கு ஏற்படலாம் என்ற பீதி நிலவிவருகிறது. தமிழ் நாட்டிலே எல்லா மக்களும் இந்தியை கற்றுக்கொண்டுவிட்டால் பிறகு அதையே இங்கும் அரசியல் மொழியாக்க என்ன தடை என்று மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தார் கேட்டால் நமது தலைவர்கள் அதற்கு பதில் சொல்லுவதற்கு இடமில்லாமல் போய்விடலாம். ஆகவே, நான் வற்புறுத்திச் சொல்லுவது என்னவென்றால் மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் அமையப்போகும் தருவாயில் தமிழ் நாட்டிலே நம் தாய் மொழியான தமிழைத் தவிர இன்னொரு மொழிக்கு இடம் இருக்கக் கூடாது. அடுத்தபடியாக, கல்வித்துறையிலும் ஆரம்பம் முதல் இறுதிவரை தமிழ் மொழிதான் போதனை மொழியாக இருக்கவேண்டும். வேறு எந்த மொழிக்கும் இடம் கொடுக்கக் கூடாது. அடுத்தபடியாக, அரசியல் விவகாரங்களுக்கும், உயர் நீதி மன்றங்கள் உள்பட எல்லா நீதி மன்றங்களுக்கும் சட்ட சபைக்கும் தமிழ் மொழியே இருக்க வேண்டும். வேறு எந்த மொழிக்கும் இடம் கொடுக்கக்கூடாது. இப்பொழுது அமைச்சர்கள் அரசியல் ஆதிக்கத்தை அநேகமாக தமிழிலேயே நடத்துகின்றனர். அவர்கள் அடிக்கடி யார் வேண்டுமானாலும் தமிழில் பேசலாம், தமிழில் எழுதலாம், அதற்குத் தகுந்த மரியாதைகொடுத்து அந்த விஷயங்கள் கவனிக்கப்படுமென்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். நம் ராஜ்யத்தில் தமிழ் மொழிதான் ஆட்சி மொழி என்று உறுதியாகச் சொல்லிவிடவேண்டும். எந்தக் காலத்திலும் இந்தி மொழி இங்கு ஆட்சி மொழியாக வாக்கூடாது என்பதுதான் எனது திட்டமான அபிப்பிராயம். ஏக இந்தியா என்று இயங்கக்கூடிய நாம் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துக்கும் அடுத்த மாகாணத்துக்கும் தொடர்பு வைத்துக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு நமக்கு ஒரு பொது பாஷை வேண்டுமென்று கூறும்பொழுது அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் சொல்லியபடி நமது மக்கள் அதிகமாக இந்தியை கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு எது இல்லாத நிலைமையிலே அதற்குத் தவணை கேட்கவேண்டுமென்பது உண்மை. இருந்தபோதிலும், அரசியலில் ஈடுபடவேண்டுமென்று நினைக்கிறவர்கள் அதைக் கற்றுக்கொள்ளலாம். ஆனால் இந்தி எவ்வளவு தூரம் படிக்கவேண்டுமென்று நிர்ப்பந்தம் கூடாது. என்னைப்போன்ற வியாபாரிகளெல்லாம் வட நாட்டில் தொடர்பு வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதற்காக, எங்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளெல்லாம் தாமாகவே இந்தி படித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நன்றாக இந்தி எழுதத் தெரியாவிட்டாலும் வியாபாரத்திற்கு வேண்டிய அளவு கற்றுக்கொள்ளுகிறார்கள். ஆதலால், இந்தியின்மீது வெறுப்பில்லை. தேவையானவர்கள் தாங்களாகவே கற்றுக்கொள்ளலாம். இந்தி படிக்கும்படி யாரையும் கட்டாயம் செய்யக்கூடாது. அவர்கள் விருப்பப்படி தாங்களாகவே படித்துக்கொள்ளலாம்.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: கனம் அங்கத்தினர் அவருடைய குழந்தைகள் ஹிந்தி படித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னார்கள். ஆனால் மற்றவர்கள் இந்தி படிக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இதில் அர்த்தமில்லை.

*SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI: நான் வியாபாரத்தை முன்னிட்டு வியாபாரிகளின் குழந்தைகள் இந்தி படிக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னேன். ஆகவே, யாருக்கு அவசியமோ, யார் அரசாங்க உத்தியோகத்தில் ஈடுபட நினைக்கிறார்களோ அவர்களே விரும்பினால் தாங்களாகவே இந்தி கற்றுக்கொள்ளலாமென்றுதான் சொன்னேன். எல்லா மக்களையும் கட்டாயப்படுத்தினால் நம் நாட்டிலும் அனைவரும் இந்தி கற்றுக் கொண்டுவிடுவார்கள். பிறகு இங்கே எல்லோரும் இந்தி கற்றுக்கொண்டு விட்டார்களே, ஆகையால் இங்கேயும் இந்தியே அரசியல் மொழியாக ஏன் இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று மத்திய அரசாங்கம் கேட்டால் அதற்கு உங்களால் பதில் சொல்ல முடியாமல் போய்விடும் என்று எச்சரிக்கை செய்ய விரும்புகிறேன். கட்டாயமாக நம்மீது இந்தியை திணித்தால் நமது தமிழ் மொழிக்கு ஆபத்து ஏற்படும். கனம் டாக்டர் லக்ஷ்மணசுவாமி முதலியார் சொல்லியபடி அரசியல் துறையிலோ உத்தியோகத்திலோ பொறுப்பு வகிப்பதற்கு ஒரு மாற்றுமொழி கற்றுக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது என்ன இருந்தாலும் இங்கே இருக்கும் அமைச்சர்களில் ஒருவருக்குக்கூட இந்தி தெரியாது என்று நினைக்கிறேன். அவர்களும் டில்லிக்குப் போய் பேசி வருகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் எப்படி சமாளிக்கிறார்களோ தெரியவில்லை. (Interruption.) ஒன்று இந்தி படித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும் அல்லது இந்தியை ஆங்கிலத்தில் மொழி பெயர்ப்பதற்கு ஒரு மொழி பெயர்ப்பாளரை வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். ஆகவே, கட்டாயமாக இந்தியை நம்மீது திணித்தால் தமிழ் மொழிக்கு ஆபத்துவரும், தமிழ் பண்புக்கும் கலாசாரத்துக்கும் ஆபத்துவரும் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு என் வார்த்தைகளை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

6 p.m.

*SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI: கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, சர்க்கார் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். தமிழ் பாஷை அவசியமென்று இங்கே பேசியவர்களெல்லாம் ரொம்ப வற்புறுத்திப் பேசினார்கள். எனக்கு ரொம்ப சந்தோஷமாகவும் ஆனந்தமாகவும் இருந்தது. எத்தனையோ நாட்களாக நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ கஜபதி நாயகர் அவர்கள் தமிழ், தமிழ் என்று கதறி கடைசியில் ஒய்ந்துபோய் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுகின்ற நேரத்தில் எல்லா அங்கத்தினர்களும் தமிழ் வேண்டுமென்று ஆரவாரத்துடன் பேசுகின்ற நிலையைப்பார்த்து நான் ஆனந்தப்படுகிறேன். தமிழ் அவசியம் வளர வேண்டியதுதான். தமிழன் தமிழை மறந்துவிடமுடியாது. ஆனால் அகில இந்திய தோரணையில் ஏதாவது ஒரு பாஷை இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, ஹிந்தியை அகில இந்திய பாஷையாக நிர்ணயித்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஹிந்தியை அகில இந்திய பாஷையாக வளர்த்துவிட்டால் தமிழ் அழிந்துவிடுமென்று எனக்கு முன் பேசிய கனம் அங்கத்தினர் வி. வி. ராமசாமி அவர்களும் இன்னும் பல அங்கத்தினர்களும் சொன்னார்கள். வெள்ளையர்கள் நம் நாட்டுக்கு வந்தபொழுது ஆங்கில பாஷையை நம்மீது திணித்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது ஆங்கில பாஷை ஒரு பரங்கி பாஷை, அன்னிய பாஷை, அது நீச்ச பாஷை, அதைக் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவது மகாபாவம் என்றெல்லாம் சொல்லி அநேகம் பேர்களை ஆங்கிலத்தைக் கற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாதபடி தடுத்துவிட்டார்கள் அந்தக்காலத்திலிருந்த தமிழ்நாட்டுத் தலைவர்கள். அப்பொழுது பின் தங்கியவர்களின் வம்சத்தில் ஒருவராகிய நான் இன்றைக்கு இங்கே சொல்லுகின்றேன். என்னுடைய வம்சத்தில் எல்லோரும் அப்பொழுதிலிருந்து தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தங்கி நின்றுபோய்விட்டார்கள். ஆனால் சென்னை, மதுரை முதலிய பெரிய நகரங்களில் இருந்தவர்கள், கடற்கரை ஓரங்களில் கப்பல் வியாபாரத்தில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தவர்கள் ஆங்கிலத்தைக் கற்றுக்கொண்டு தொபாஷ் ஆனார்கள். அவர்கள் 'தொபாஷ்' அல்ல. "தோபாஷ்" இரண்டு பாஷை தெரிந்தவர்கள் அவர்களைத் துணையாக வைத்துக்கொண்டு இந்த ராஜ்யத்தை ஆங்கிலேயர்கள் ஆண்டுவந்தார்கள். ஆங்கிலேயர்கள் ஆண்டுவந்த

காலத்தில் அரசியல் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட காரியாலயங்கள் இருந்த இடங்களில் உள்ளவர்கள் என்னுடைய வகுப்பினரும் மற்ற சில வகுப்பினரும் ஆங்கிலத்தைப் படித்து உயர்ந்த பதவிக்குச்சென்றார்கள். அப்பொழுது சென்னையிலிருந்த தலைவர்கள் ஆங்கிலபாஷை நீச்சபாஷை, கேவலமான பாஷை, தவறுதலான பாஷை, அதை யாரும் படிக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொன்னதினால் என்போல் கிராமத்திலுள்ள பின்தங்கியிருந்த மக்கள் அப்படியே பின்தங்கிபோய்விட்டார்கள். சிலர் துணிந்து ஆங்கிலம் படித்து முன் வந்தவர்கள் முன்னேறி பெரிய உத்தியோகங்களுக்குப் போய்க்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். ஒரு சமூகம் உயர்ந்த நிலையிலும் மற்ற சமூகம் தாழ்ந்த நிலையிலும் இருந்ததை அறிந்த தலைவர்கள் பிராமணரல்லாதார் இயக்கம் ஒன்றை ஆரம்பித்து, ஆங்கிலம் படித்தால் உயர்ந்தபதவிக்குப் போகமுடியும் என்று சொல்லி படிக்காத பிள்ளைகளையும் படிக்கும்படிச்செய்து, பிராமணர் அல்லாதவராக இருந்தால் S.S.L.C. படித்திருந்தால்கூட போதும், பாஸ் செய்யவேண்டியதில்லை, அவர்களுக்கு வேலை கொடுக்கப்படும் என்று ஒரு சட்டத்தை ஏற்படுத்தி, அவர்களை கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சமாக முன்னே தூக்கி விட்டார்கள். இதன் பிறகு எல்லோரும் படிக்க ஆரம்பித்து இப்பொழுது ஆங்கிலம் எல்லோரும் எறக்குறைய படித்து உச்சநிலைக்கு வந்தநேரத்திலே ஆங்கிலேயர்கள் நாட்டைவிட்டு போய்விட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் போன பிறகு அவர்கள் பாஷையும் கூடவே போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அந்த பாஷை போகிறபொழுது நமக்கு வேறு ஒரு ஆதாரம் வேண்டுமே என்று நமது தலைவர்கள் அகில இந்திய ரீதியிலே ஹிந்தி பாஷை பொது பாஷையாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஹிந்தி பாஷை ஆபத்தானது, அது ஒரு லம்பாடி பாஷை, கரடு முரடான பாஷை, அதனால் தமிழ் அழிந்துபோய்விடும் என்று இப்பொழுது இங்கு இருக்கின்ற தலைவர்கள் சிலர் சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இது ஆபத்தானது. நமது முன்னேற்றத்தைத் தடுத்துவிடும். தமிழ் மக்களை பிற்போக்கில் கொண்டுபோய்விடும். தமிழர்களுக்கு எச்சரிக்கிறேன், இது ஆபத்தான நிலைமையில் கொண்டுபோய்விட்டுவிடும். இங்கு நன்றுகப் படித்த அறிஞர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆங்கிலத்திலும் கைதேர்ந்த பண்டிதர்கள், தமிழிலும் பண்டிதர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் நான் தமிழில் மெத்த படித்தவனுமல்ல, பண்டிதனுமல்ல, பெரிய வல்லவனுமல்ல. ஒன்றும் அறியாத பாமர மக்களில் ஒருவராக இருக்கிறேன். நான் எனக்கு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற ஆபத்தை, கிராமாந்திர மக்களுக்கு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்ற ஆபத்தைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். தயவுசெய்து ஹிந்தி படிப்பதைத் தடுக்காதீர்கள், தடுக்காதீர்கள், தடுக்காதீர்கள். தடுத்தால் பிற்காலத்தில் நீங்கள் மரணத்தருவாயிலிருக்கும்பொழுது, நம் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு தீங்குசெய்து விட்டோமே என்று உங்கள் உள்ளம் உங்களை நொந்துக்கொள்ளும்.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் தமிழிலேதான் ஆட்சி நடத்தவேண்டுமென்பதை நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். அதேநேரத்தில் அகில இந்திய ரீதியில் உள்ள அரசியல் பாஷை ஹிந்தி தொடர்ந்து வரவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆனால் ஒரே அடியாக திடீரென்று ஹிந்தியை இப்பொழுது அரசியல் மொழியாகவைத்து, உத்தியோகத்துக்கு வருகிறவர்கள் ஹிந்தியையும் கட்டாயமாக கற்றுக்கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டுமென்று நிர்ணயித்தால் ஆபத்தாகத் தானிருக்கும். இதை அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் நன்றுக ஆலோசித்து ஹிந்தி கற்றுக் கொள்ளுவதற்கு அதிகத் தவணை இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்க வேண்டும். திடீரென்று ஒரு அத்து வைத்து இப்பொழுது உடனே கற்றுக் கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்றால், படித்துவிடமுடியாது. அப்படிச்செய்தால் பாரிசவாயுவினால் பீடிக்கப்பட்டவன்போல், ஒரு காலோ, கையோ, அல்லது ஒரு பாகமோ ஒரு பக்கமாக இழுத்துக்கொண்டுவிடும். அதைப்போல ஒரு சாராருக்கு ஆபத்து ஏற்பட்டுவிடாமல் அவசரப்படாமல் உத்தியோகத்திலிருப்பவர்கள் இந்த விஷயத்தை நன்றுக யோசித்து எல்லா மக்களும் தங்கள் அறிவை வளர்த்துக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு நேரம் வேண்டுமென்று எடுத்துக்காட்டி அதற்குத் தகுந்தபடி தவணை வேண்டுமென்று சிபார்சு செய்வது நியாயமாகும். நமது பக்கத்து மாகாணத்தில் இருப்பவர்கள் ஹிந்தியை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டு விட்டார்கள். இந்தியாவில் அதிகமான பிரதேசங்களில் ஹிந்தி பேசுகிறார்கள். நமது மாகாணத்தில் ஒருசில

பேசுகிறவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஹிந்திக்கும் உருதுக்கும் அதிகமான வித்தியாசம் கிடையாது. ஒரு எள் முனைதான் வித்தியாசம். நம் பக்கத்தில் நான்கில் ஒரு பங்கு மக்கள் உருது பேசுகிறவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். நம் மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கிற ஏறக்குறைய மூன்றரை கோடி மக்களில் ஒரு கோடி அல்லது முக்கால்கோடி ஜனங்கள் உருது பேசுகிறார்கள். கணக்கெடுத்துப் பார்த்தால் இன்னும் ஒரு லட்சம் இரண்டு லட்சம் வேணுமென்றால் குறைந்து இருக்கலாம். வட இந்தியாவிலிருந்து இங்கே பலபேர்கள் வந்து குடியேறியிருக்கிறார்கள். முகம்மதியர்கள், மராட்டியர்கள் முதலியவர்களுமிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தியாவில் பெரும்பாலானவர்கள் ஹிந்தியே பேசுகிறார்கள். ஹிந்தி ஒரு பொது பாஷையாக இருக்கிறது. அதை எல்லோரும் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுவதற்கு வசதி செய்துகொடுத்து முன்னேற்றத்தில் அனைவர்களுக்கும் சம பங்கு கிடைக்கும்படிச் செய்யவேண்டும். அதை விட்டுவிட்டு ஹிந்திபாஷை கூடாது, அதைப்பற்றி பேசவே கூடாது, ஒன்றுமே செய்யக்கூடாது, எல்லாவற்றையும் தமிழிலேயே நடத்திவிடலாம் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருந்தால் தமிழ்மக்களுக்கும் வட இந்தியர்களுக்கும் தொடர்பு இல்லாமல்போய், நாம் தொடர்ந்து பின்தங்கியவர்களாகவே இருந்துவிடுவோம். கனம் லக்ஷ்மணசுவாமி முதலியார், டாக்டர் ஜான், உஸ்மான் சாகிப், கஜபதி நாயகர் ஆகியோர்கள் காலம்வரை இந்தியாவில் இங்கிலீஷ் தொடர்ந்து இருக்கலாம். பிற்காலத்தில் அது அப்படியே அழிந்து போய்விடும். பிறகு ஹிந்திதான் இந்தியாவின் பொதுபாஷையாக விளங்கும். ஆங்கிலம் ஒரு பொது பாஷையாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று யாரும் சொல்ல முடியாது. எப்பொழுது அது தொடர்ந்து ஒரு பொது பாஷையாக அரசாங்க பாஷையாக இருக்கமுடியாது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்களோ, அதற்கு எதிராக ஒரு பாஷை இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதை நீங்கள் ஒப்புக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். அந்த பாஷை இன்றைக்கு வேண்டுமா, நாளைக்கு வேண்டுமா, 10 வருஷங்களுக்குக் பிறகு வேண்டுமா, 20 வருஷங்களுக்குப் பிறகு வேண்டுமா, எப்பொழுது வேண்டும் என்பதை நீங்கள் நன்றாக யோசித்து முடிவு செய்யுங்கள். அது இப்பொழுதே வரவேண்டுமென்பது பிரச்னை அல்ல. ஆனால் ஹிந்தியை கற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடாது என்று தடுத்துவிட்டால், ஹிந்திதான் பின்னால் பொதுபாஷையாக வரும். அப்பொழுது நம் தமிழ் மக்கள் கண்கலங்கி நிற்கும் காலம் என் எதிரிலே தென்படுகிறது.

என்னை இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் பேச அனுமதித்ததற்கு தலைவர் அவர்களுக்கு நன்றி செலுத்துகிறேன். என்னுடைய கடமையை செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்று ரொம்ப நேரமாக சிந்தனை செய்துகொண்டிருந்தேன். பலபேர் பலவிதமாக பேசினார்கள். கிராமந்திர மக்களின் எண்ணமென்ன, அவர்களுடைய அபிப்பிராயமென்ன என்பதை அரசாங்கத்துக்கு முன்னிட்டுச் சொல்லுவது என்னுடைய பொறுப்பு. அதைச் செலுத்துவதற்கு நான் கடமைப்பட்டிருப்பதால் அதைச் செலுத்திவிட்டேன். அதற்காக தலைவர் அவர்களுக்கு என்னுடைய வணக்கத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஹிந்தியை கற்றுக் கொள்ளுவதற்கு எவ்வளவு நாள் வேண்டும், அதற்கு என்ன செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நன்றாக ஆலோசனை செய்து தகுந்த சிபார்சுகளைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கனம் அமைச்சர் அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டு, என்னுடைய பிரசங்கத்தை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will now adjourn and meet again at 2-30 p.m. to-morrow, the 29th instant.

The House then adjourned.